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Seventh Series.

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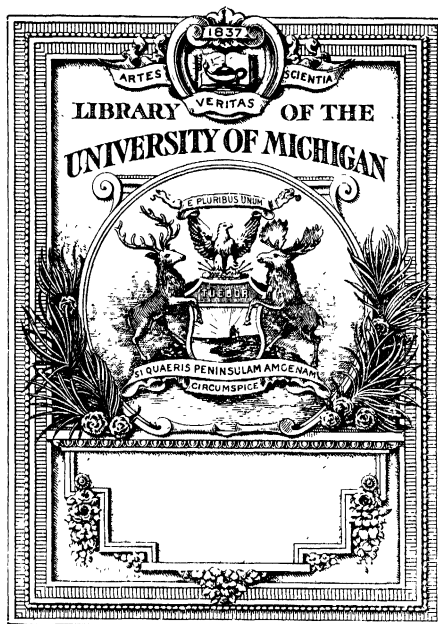
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COLLECTIONS
OF THE
MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

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John A. Jefferson

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OF THE

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MEMBERS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY, IN THE ORDER OF THEIR ELECTION.

RESIDENT MEMBERS.

[Those with * prefixed have died, and those with † ceased to be members, by resignation, removal from the State, or otherwise. The place of residence given is that where the member lived at the time of his election.]

NAME.	RESIDENCE.	DATE OF ELECTION.	MEMBERSHIP CEASED.	AGE.
*Rev. Jeremy Belknap, D.D.	Boston	24 January, 1791 .	d. 20 June, 1798 . . .	54
*Rev. John Eliot, D.D.	"	" " " "	d. 14 February, 1813 .	58
*Rev. James Freeman, D.D.	"	" " " "	d. 14 November, 1835 .	76
*Hon. James Sullivan, LL.D.	"	" " " "	d. 10 December, 1808 .	64
*Rev. Peter Thacher, D.D.	"	" " " "	d. 16 December, 1802 .	50
*Hon. William Tudor, A.M.	"	" " " "	d. 8 July, 1819	69
*Thomas Wallcut, Esq.	"	" " " "	d. 5 June, 1840	81
*Hon. James Winthrop, LL.D.	Cambridge	" " " "	d. 26 September, 1821 .	69
*†Hon. William Baylies, M.D.	Dighton	" " " "	R. 27 April, 1815.	
*Hon. George Richards Minot, A.M.	Boston	" " " "	d. 2 January, 1802 . .	43
*Hon. David Sewall, LL.D.	York, Maine . . .	11 October, " "	d. 22 October, 1825 . .	89
*Isaac Lothrop, Esq.	Plymouth	" " " "	d. 25 July, 1808 . . .	71
*Hon. John Davis, LL.D.	"	24 " " "	d. 14 January, 1847 . .	85
*†Rev. Manasseh Cutler, LL.D.	Ipswich	29 May, 1792 .	R. 27 April, 1815.	
*Aaron Dexter, M.D.	Boston	" " " "	d. 23 February, 1829 .	78
*†Hon. Daniel Davis, A.M.	Portland	" " " "	R. 26 June, 1834.	
*Rev. Thaddeus Mason Harris, D.D.	Cambridge	13 August, " "	d. 3 April, 1842 . . .	73
*Thomas Pemberton, Esq.	Boston	" " " "	d. 5 July, 1807	78
*†William Wetmore, A.M.	"	" " " "	R. 29 August, 1815.	
*Redford Webster, Esq.	"	" " " "	d. 31 August, 1833 . .	72
*Hon. Peleg Coffin	Nantucket	" " " "	d. 6 March, 1805 . . .	48
*William Dandridge Peck, A.M.	Kittery	8 October, " "	d. 3 October, 1822 . .	59
*John Mellen, A.M.	Barnstable	23 " " "	d. 19 September, 1828 .	76
*†Hon. Nathaniel Freeman	Sandwich	" " " "	R. 25 October, 1808.	
*†Hon. Alden Bradford, LL.D.	Boston	2 January, 1793 .	R. 27 January, 1820.	
*Rev. John Prince, LL.D.	Salem	29 " " "	d. 7 June, 1836	84
*Hon. Dudley Atkins Tyng, LL.D.	Newburyport . . .	30 April, " "	d. 1 August, 1829 . .	68
*Ezekiel Price, Esq.	Boston	" " " "	d. 15 July, 1802 . . .	74
*†Samuel Turell	"	30 July, " "	Exp. 27 August, 1811.	
*†Rev. John Thornton Kirkland, LL.D.	"	26 January, 1796 .	R. 24 April, 1828.	
*†Rev. Jedidiah Morse, D.D.	Charlestown	" " " "	Rem. 1820.	
*Rev. John Clarke, D.D.	Boston	" " " "	d. 2 April, 1798	42
*Rev. William Bentley, D.D.	Salem	25 March, " "	d. 29 December, 1819 .	60
*James Perkins, Esq.	Boston	" " " "	d. 1 August, 1822 . . .	61
*†Hon. William Spooner, M.D.	"	26 April, " "	R. 28 May, 1835.	
*Hon. Josiah Quincy, LL.D.	"	26 July, " "	d. 1 July, 1864	92
*Eben Parsons, Esq.	"	31 January, 1797 .	d. 27 November, 1819 .	74
*Thomas Brattle, A.M.	Cambridge	25 April, " "	d. 7 February, 1801 . .	58
*William Fisk, A.B.	Waltham	" " " "	d. 13 August, 1803 . .	49
*Gamaliel Bradford, A.M.	Boston	31 October, " "	d. 7 March, 1824 . . .	60
*Rev. Caleb Gannett, A.M.	Cambridge	" " " "	d. 25 April, 1818 . . .	72
*Hon. Christopher Gore, LL.D.	Waltham	30 January, 1798 .	d. 1 March, 1827 . . .	68
*Rev. John Bradford, A.M.	Roxbury	" " " "	d. 27 January, 1825 . .	68

viii MEMBERS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

NAME.	RESIDENCE.	DATE OF ELECTION.	MEMBERSHIP CEASED.	AGE.
*†Hon. Daniel Kilham, A.M.	Wenham . . .	24 April, 1798 .	R. 29 April, 1830.	
*Rev. Abiel Holmes, LL.D.	Cambridge . .	" " " .	d. 4 June, 1837 . . .	73
*Hon. Josiah Bartlett, M.D.	Charlestown .	" " " .	d. 3 March, 1820 . . .	60
*Hon. Benjamin Lincoln, A.M.	Hingham . . .	19 July, " .	d. 9 May, 1810	77
*Isaac Rand, M.D.	Boston	" " " .	d. 11 December, 1822	79
*†Rev. Ebenezer Fitch, D.D.	Williamstown	30 October, " .	R. 24 April, 1817.	
*John Williams, A.M.	Deerfield . .	" " " .	d. 27 July, 1816 . . .	65
*Rev. Jonathan Homer, D.D.	Newton	30 April, 1799 .	d. 11 August, 1843 . .	84
*†Rev. John Allyn, D.D.	Duxbury . . .	29 October, " .	R. 5 May, 1831.	
*†Rev. Eliphalet Pearson, LL.D.	Andover . . .	28 January, 1800 .	R. 28 August, 1810.	
*Marston Watson, Esq.	Boston	29 April, " .	d. 7 August, 1800 . . .	44
*Hon. William Sullivan, LL.D.	"	" " " .	d. 3 September, 1839 .	64
*Hon. John Adams, LL.D.	Quincy	31 July, " .	d. 4 July, 1826	90
*Hon. Caleb Strong, LL.D.	Northampton	" " " .	d. 7 November, 1819 .	74
*Hon. Thomas Lindall Winthrop, LL.D. .	Boston	28 October, " .	d. 22 February, 1841 .	80
*†John Langdon Sullivan, M.D.	"	28 April, 1801 .	Rem. 1818.	
*†Rev. Zephaniah Willis, A.M.	Kingston . . .	" " " .	R. 27 April, 1815.	
*Rev. William Emerson, A.M.	Boston	13 July, " .	d. 12 May, 1811 . . .	42
*†Rev. John Snelling Popkin, D.D.	Cambridge . .	" " " .	R. 26 January, 1826.	
*†Charles Bulfinch, A.M.	Boston	1 October, " .	Rem. December, 1817.	
*Hon. John Quincy Adams, LL.D.	Quincy	27 April, 1802 . .	d. 23 February, 1848 .	80
*†Hon. Stephen Higginson	Boston	25 January, 1803 .	R. 25 August, 1812.	
*Rev. Peter Whitney, A.M.	Northborough	28 August, 1804 . .	d. 29 February, 1816 .	71
*†Obadiah Rich, Esq.	Boston	5 March, 1805	Rem. 1818.	
*William Smith Shaw, A.M.	"	7 November, " .	d. 25 April, 1826 . . .	47
*Rev. Joseph McKean, LL.D.	Cambridge . .	7 September, 1808	d. 17 March, 1818 . . .	41
*Hon. Joseph Allen	Worcester . .	" " " .	d. 2 September, 1827	77
*Hon. Joshua Thomas, A.M.	Plymouth . .	25 October, " .	d. 10 January, 1821 .	69
*Rev. John Pierce, D.D.	Brookline . .	31 January, 1809 .	d. 24 August, 1849 . .	76
*Joseph Coolidge, Esq.	Boston	25 April, 1811 . .	d. 19 November, 1840	67
*Rev. Joseph Stevens Buckminster, A.M. .	"	" " " .	d. 9 June, 1812	28
*Isaiah Thomas, LL.D.	Worcester . .	" " " .	d. 4 April, 1831 . . .	82
*Samuel Davis, A.M.	Plymouth . .	30 January, 1812 .	d. 10 July, 1829 . . .	64
*†Joseph Tilden, A.M.	Boston	" " " .	R. 25 April, 1816.	
*Elisha Clap, A.M.	"	29 October, " .	d. 22 October, 1830 . .	54
*Hon. James Savage, LL.D.	"	28 January, 1813 .	d. 8 March, 1873 . . .	88
*†Ephraim Eliot, A.M.	"	24 August, " .	R. 26 January, 1826.	
*†Rev. Charles Lowell, D.D.	"	29 August, 1815 . .	R. 10 January, 1856.	
" " " " re-elected . . .	Cambridge . .	14 July, 1859 . . .	d. 20 January, 1861 .	78
*†Hon. Charles Jackson, LL.D.	Boston	29 August, 1815 . .	R. 18 November, 1841.	
*†Levi Hedge, LL.D.	Cambridge . .	" " " .	R. 25 January, 1827.	
*William Tudor, Jr., A.M.	Boston	25 April, 1816 . .	d. 9 March, 1830 . . .	51
*Hon. Joseph Story, LL.D.	Salem	" " " .	d. 10 September, 1845	66
*Hon. Leverett Saltonstall, LL.D.	"	27 August, " .	d. 8 May, 1845	61
*Rev. Stephen Palmer, A.M.	Needham . . .	" " " .	d. 31 October, 1821 . .	55
*†Ichabod Tucker, A.M.	Salem	26 August, 1817 . .	R. 25 April, 1844.	
*Hon. Francis Calley Gray, LL.D.	Boston	29 January, 1818 .	d. 29 December, 1856	66
*†Hon. John Pickering, LL.D.	Salem	" " " .	R. 5 May, 1831.	
" " " " re-elected . . .	Boston	25 June, 1835 . . .	d. 5 May, 1846	69
*†Nathaniel Greenwood Snelling, Esq. . .	"	29 January, 1818 .	R. 26 December, 1844.	
*Hon. Nahum Mitchell, A.M.	Bridgewater .	25 August, " .	d. 1 August, 1853 . . .	84
*Benjamin Ropes Nichols, A.M.	Salem	28 January, 1819 .	d. 30 April, 1848 . . .	61
*Hon. William Winthrop, A.M.	Cambridge . .	27 January, 1820 .	d. 5 February, 1825 . .	72
*Hon. Nathan Hale, LL.D.	Boston	" " " .	d. 8 February, 1863 . .	78
*Rev. Samuel Ripley, A.M.	Waltham . . .	" " " .	d. 24 November, 1847	64
*Hon. Edward Everett, LL.D.	Boston	27 April, " .	d. 15 January, 1865 . .	70
*Hon. James Cushing Merrill, A.M.	"	" " " .	d. 4 October, 1853 . .	69
*Hon. Daniel Webster, LL.D.	"	27 August, 1821 . .	d. 24 October, 1852 . .	70

NAME.	RESIDENCE.	DATE OF ELECTION.	MEMBERSHIP GRANTED.	AGE.
*Rev. William Jenks, LL.D.	Boston	27 August, 1821 . .	d. 13 November, 1866	87
*James Bowdoin, A.M.	"	" " " . .	d. 6 March, 1833 . .	38
*Rev. Henry Ware, Jr., D.D.	Cambridge . .	31 January, 1822 . .	d. 22 September, 1843	49
*William Jones Spooner, A.M.	Boston	25 April, " . .	d. 17 October, 1824 . .	30
*Rev. Ezra Shaw Goodwin, A.M.	Sandwich . . .	" " " . .	d. 5 February, 1833 . .	45
*Hon. John Lowell, LL.D.	Boston	30 January, 1823 . .	d. 12 March, 1840 . .	70
*†Hon. Theodore Lyman, Jr., A.M.	"	24 April, " . .	R. 30 May, 1836.	
*Samuel Pickering Gardner, A.M.	"	24 August, 1824 . .	d. 18 December, 1843	76
*Gamaliel Bradford, M.D.	Cambridge . .	28 April, 1825 . .	d. 22 October, 1839 . .	44
*Rev. Francis William Pitt Greenwood, D.D.	Boston	" " " . .	d. 2 August, 1843 . .	46
*†Hon. John Gorham Palfrey, LL.D. . . .	Cambridge . .	" " " . .	R. 23 June, 1838.	
" " " " re-elected	"	30 June, 1842 . . .	R. 17 April, 1854.	
*†Caleb Hopkins Snow, M.D.	Boston	29 August, 1826 . .	R. 26 February, 1835.	
*Jared Sparks, LL.D.	Cambridge . .	" " " . .	d. 14 March, 1866 . .	76
*Benjamin Merrill, LL.D.	Salem	" " " . .	d. 30 July, 1847 . . .	63
*Joseph Emerson Worcester, LL.D. . . .	Cambridge . .	26 April, 1827 . .	d. 27 October, 1865 . .	81
*†Joshua Coffin, A.M.	Newbury . . .	28 August, " . .	Rem. December, 1835.	
*Hon. Nathan Dane, LL.D.	Beverly . . .	19 February, 1829 .	d. 15 February, 1835 .	82
*Joseph Willard, A.M.	Lancaster . .	" " " . .	d. 12 May, 1865 . . .	67
*†Hon. Alexander Hill Everett, LL.D. . .	Boston	24 August, 1830 . .	Rem. 1841.	
*Lemuel Shattuck, Esq.	"	" " " . .	d. 17 January, 1859 .	65
*Isaac P Davis, Esq.	"	" " " . .	d. 13 January, 1855 .	83
*†Alonzo Lewis, Esq.	Lynn	" " " . .	R. 1 January, 1844.	
*Rev. Joseph Barlow Felt, LL.D.	Salem	" " " . .	d. 8 September, 1869	79
*Hon. Lemuel Shaw, LL.D.	Boston	5 May, 1831 . . .	d. 30 March, 1861 . .	80
*†Hon. James Trecothick Austin, LL.D. . .	"	" " " . .	R. 10 January, 1856.	
*Rev. Benjamin Blydenburgh Wisner, D.D.	"	" " " . .	d. 9 February, 1835 .	40
*Rev. Convers Francis, D.D.	Watertown . .	" " " . .	d. 7 April, 1863 . . .	67
*Hon. John Welles, A.M.	Boston	26 January, 1832 .	d. 25 September, 1855	90
*†Hon. Charles Wentworth Upham, A.M. .	Salem	" " " . .	R. 19 May, 1852.	
" " " " re-elected	"	14 November, 1867	d. 15 June, 1875 . . .	73
*William Lincoln, A.B.	Worcester . .	26 January, 1832 .	d. 5 October, 1843 . .	42
*George Ticknor, LL.D.	Boston	25 July, 1833 . . .	d. 26 January, 1871 .	79
*Rev. John Codman, D.D.	Dorchester . .	" " " . .	d. 23 December, 1847	65
*Hon. Nathan Appleton, LL.D.	Boston	26 June, 1834 . . .	d. 14 July, 1861 . . .	81
*†Hon. George Bancroft, LL.D.	Northampton	" " " . .	Rem. December, 1849.	
*Rev. Alexander Young, D.D.	Boston	25 June, 1835 . . .	d. 16 March, 1854 . .	53
*Hon. Rufus Choate, LL.D.	"	" " " . .	d. 13 July, 1859 . . .	59
*Hon. John Glen King, A.M.	Salem	" " " . .	d. 26 July, 1857 . . .	70
*†Rev Samuel Sewall, A.M.	Burlington . .	28 January, 1836 .	R. 29 August, 1837.	
*Hon. Daniel Appleton White, LL.D. . .	Salem	26 May, " . .	d. 30 March, 1861 . .	84
*†William Gibbs, Esq.	Lexington . .	30 August, " . .	R. 27 March, 1851.	
*†Josiah Bartlett, M.D.	Concord . . .	" " " . .	R. 12 March, 1857.	
*Hon. Simon Greenleaf, LL.D.	Cambridge . .	23 November, 1837	d. 6 October, 1853 . .	69
*†Hon. Francis Baylies	Taunton . . .	" " " . .	R. 30 March, 1848.	
*William Hickling Prescott, LL.D. . . .	Boston	26 July, 1838 . . .	d. 28 January, 1859 .	62
*Hon. Robert Charles Winthrop, LL.D. . .	"	31 October, 1839 .	d. 16 November, 1894	85
*†Rev. William Cogswell, D.D.	"	26 December, " .	Rem. April, 1841.	
*Rev. Alvan Lamson, D.D.	Dedham . . .	30 April, 1840 . . .	d. 18 July, 1864 . . .	71
*Hon. Nathaniel Morton Davis, A.M. . . .	Plymouth . .	30 July, " . .	d. 29 July, 1848 . . .	63
*Hon. Charles Francis Adams, LL.D. . . .	Quincy	25 March, 1841 . .	d. 21 November, 1886	79
*Hon. Samuel Hoar, LL.D.	Concord . . .	30 September, " .	d. 2 November, 1856	78
*Rev. William Parsons Lunt, D.D.	Quincy	" " " . .	d. 21 March, 1857 . .	51
*Rev. George Edward Ellis, LL.D.	Boston	28 October, " . .	d. 20 December, 1894	80
*Hon. John Chipman Gray, LL.D.	"	30 December, " .	d. 3 March, 1881 . . .	87
*Hon. George Stillman Hillard, LL.D. . .	"	26 October, 1843	d. 21 January, 1879 .	70
*Rev. Nathaniel Langdon Frothingham, D.D.	"	" " " . .	d. 4 April, 1870 . . .	76
*†Oliver William Bourn Peabody, A.M. . .	"	" " " . .	Rem. August, 1845.	

NAME.	RESIDENCE.	DATE OF ELECTION.	MEMBERSHIP CEASED.	AGE.
*Hon. William Minot, A.M.	Boston	23 November, 1843	d. 2 June, 1873	89
*Hon. Peleg Whitman Chandler, LL.D. . .	,, ...	25 January, 1844 .	d. 28 May, 1889	73
*†Rev. George Washington Blagden, D.D. .	,, ...	29 February, ,, .	R. 14 February, 1884.	
*Rev. Lucius Robinson Paige, D.D. . . .	Cambridge . .	30 May, ,, .	d. 2 September, 1896 .	94
*Hon. Solomon Lincoln, A.M.	Hingham . . .	30 January, 1845 .	d. 1 December, 1881 .	77
*Rev. Chandler Robbins, D.D.	Boston	4 December, ,, .	d. 11 September, 1882	72
*†Francis Bowen, LL.D.	Cambridge . .	,, ,, ,, .	R. 14 February, 1878.	
*John Langdon Sibley, A.M.	,, ...	1 January, 1846 .	d. 9 December, 1885 .	80
*Hon. Richard Frothingham, LL.D. . . .	Charlestown .	30 July, ,, .	d. 29 January, 1880 .	67
*Hon. Nathaniel Bradstreet Shurtleff, M.D.	Boston	25 March, 1847 . .	d. 17 October, 1874 . .	64
*Henry Wheatland, M.D.	Salem	27 January, 1848 .	d. 27 February, 1893 .	81
*Thaddeus William Harris, M.D.	Cambridge . .	,, ,, ,, .	d. 16 January, 1856 .	60
*†Rev. William Ives Budington, D.D. . . .	Charlestown .	30 March, ,, .	Rem. July, 1854.	
*Sylvester Judd, Esq.	Northampton	27 April, ,, .	d. 18 April, 1860 . . .	71
*Hon. David Sears, A.M.	Boston	,, ,, ,, .	d. 14 January, 1871 .	83
*Thomas Hopkins Webb, M.D.	Quincy	28 September, ,, .	d. 2 August, 1866 . .	64
*Charles Deane, LL.D.	Cambridge . .	25 October, 1849	d. 13 November, 1889	76
*George Livermore, A.M.	,, ...	22 November, ,, .	d. 30 August, 1865 . .	56
*†Rev. William Barry, D.D.	Lowell	31 January, 1850 .	Rem. 1853.	
*Francis Parkman, LL.D.	Boston	26 February, 1852 .	d. 8 November, 1893 .	70
*†Ellis Ames, A.M.	Canton	12 August, ,, .	R. 9 October, 1884.	
*†Samuel Eliot, LL.D.	Brookline . .	10 March, 1853 . .	Rem. 24 June, 1856.	
,, ,, re-elected	Boston	20 April, 1865 . .	d. 14 September, 1898	76
*Hon. John Henry Clifford, LL.D.	New Bedford.	13 October, 1853	d. 2 January, 1876 . .	66
*Hon. William Brigham, A.M.	Boston	8 December, ,, .	d. 9 July, 1869	62
*Hon. Abbott Lawrence, LL.D.	,, ...	,, ,, ,, .	d. 18 August, 1855 . .	62
*Hon. Emory Washburn, LL.D.	Worcester . .	8 June, 1854	d. 18 March, 1877 . .	77
*Rev. Samuel Kirkland Lothrop, LL.D. . .	Boston	,, ,, ,, .	d. 12 June, 1886	81
*Rev. William Newell, D.D.	Cambridge . .	14 December, ,, .	d. 28 October, 1881 . .	77
*Hon. Lorenzo Sabine, A.M.	Framingham .	,, ,, ,, .	d. 14 April, 1877 . . .	73
*Col. Thomas Aspinwall, A.M.	Boston	12 April, 1855	d. 11 August, 1876 . .	90
*Rev. John Stetson Barry, A.M.	Roxbury . . .	8 November, ,, .	d. 11 December, 1872	53
*John Amory Lowell, LL.D.	Boston	,, ,, ,, .	d. 31 October, 1881 . .	82
*Lucius Manlius Sargent, A.M.	West Roxbury	13 March, 1856	d. 2 June, 1867	80
*Cornelius Conway Felton, LL.D.	Cambridge . .	,, ,, ,, .	d. 26 February, 1862 .	54
*Hon. John Lothrop Motley, LL.D.	Boston	9 October, ,, .	d. 29 May, 1877	63
*Nathaniel Ingersoll Bowditch, A.M. . . .	,, ...	11 December, ,, .	d. 16 April, 1861 . . .	55
*George Robert Russell, LL.D.	Jamaica Plain	8 January, 1857	d. 5 August, 1866 . . .	66
*Hon. Charles Henry Warren, A.M.	Boston	12 March, ,, .	d. 29 June, 1874 . . .	75
*Rev. James Walker, LL.D.	Cambridge . .	14 May, ,, .	d. 23 December, 1874	80
*Rev. Edmund Hamilton Sears, D.D. . . .	Wayland . . .	13 August, ,, .	d. 19 January, 1876 . .	65
*Oliver Wendell Holmes, LL.D.	Boston	10 September, ,, .	d. 7 October, 1894 . .	85
*Hon. William Hyslop Sumner, A.M.	Jamaica Plain	10 December, ,, .	d. 24 October, 1861 . .	81
*Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, LL.D. . .	Cambridge . .	,, ,, ,, .	d. 24 March, 1882 . . .	75
*Frederic Tudor, Esq.	Boston	14 January, 1858	d. 6 February, 1864 . .	80
*†Rev. Frederic Henry Hedge, D.D.	Brookline . .	,, ,, ,, .	R. 9 November, 1876.	
*Jacob Bigelow, LL.D.	Boston	11 February, ,, .	d. 10 January, 1879 .	91
*†Hon. George Thomas Davis, LL.B. . . .	Greenfield . .	,, ,, ,, .	R. 9 November, 1871.	
*Hon. Stephen Salisbury, LL.D.	Worcester . .	11 March, ,, .	d. 24 August, 1884 . .	86
*Henry Austin Whitney, A.M.	Boston	,, ,, ,, .	d. 21 February, 1889 .	62
*Hon. Luther V Bell, LL.D.	Charlestown .	8 April, ,, .	d. 11 February, 1862 .	55
*Rev. William Stoodley Bartlet, A.M. . . .	Chelsea	,, ,, ,, .	d. 12 December, 1883	74
*†Josiah Gilbert Holland, M.D.	Springfield .	13 May, ,, .	Rem. 14 October, 1871.	
*Rev. Charles Brooks, A.M.	Medford . . .	,, ,, ,, .	d. 7 July, 1872	76
*Hon. William Sturgis	Boston	17 June, ,, .	d. 21 October, 1863 .	81
*Hon. Leverett Saltonstall, A.M.	Newton	,, ,, ,, .	d. 15 April, 1895 . . .	70
*Hon. William Appleton	Boston	8 July, ,, .	d. 15 February, 1862 .	75
*†Rev. Alonzo Hall Quint, D.D.	Jamaica Plain	,, ,, ,, .	R. 9 December, 1880.	

MEMBERS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

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NAME.	RESIDENCE.	DATE OF ELECTION.	MEMBERSHIP CEASED.	AGE.
*Hon. Thomas Greaves Cary, A.M.	Boston	11 August, 1858	d. 3 July, 1859	67
*Samuel Foster Haven, LL.D.	Worcester	" " "	d. 5 September, 1881. .	75
*†George Ticknor Curtis, A.M.	West Roxbury	9 September, "	Rem. 1862.	
*Hon. Richard Henry Dana, LL.D.	Cambridge	" " "	d. 6 January, 1882 . .	66
*Edward Augustus Crowninshield, A.M. .	Boston	9 December, "	d. 20 February, 1859 .	41
*Hon. Levi Lincoln, LL.D.	Worcester	13 January, 1859 .	d. 29 May, 1868 . . .	85
*Joseph Palmer, M.D.	Boston	" " "	d. 3 March, 1871 . . .	74
*Hon. George Tyler Bigelow, LL.D. . . .	"	10 February, "	d. 12 April, 1878 . . .	67
*Hon. Caleb Cushing, LL.D.	Newburyport	" " "	d. 2 January, 1879 . .	78
*Henry Warren Torrey, LL.D.	Cambridge	10 March, "	d. 14 December, 1893 .	79
*Hon. Joel Parker, LL.D.	"	12 May, "	d. 17 August, 1875 . .	80
*Williams Latham, A.B.	Bridgewater	" " "	d. 6 November, 1883 .	80
*Hon. Charles Hudson, A.M.	Lexington	9 June, "	d. 4 May, 1881	85
*Rev. Robert Cassie Waterston, A.M. . .	Boston	" " "	d. 21 February, 1893 .	80
*†Hon. Theophilus Parsons, LL.D.	Cambridge	8 September, "	R. 9 May, 1878.	
*Thomas Coffin Amory, A.M.	Boston	" " "	d. 20 August, 1889 . .	76
*George Sumner, Esq.	"	10 November, "	d. 6 October, 1863 . .	46
*Rev. Charles Mason, D.D.	"	" " "	d. 23 March, 1862 . .	49
*Hon. Benjamin Franklin Thomas, LL.D. .	Jamaica Plain	12 January, 1860 .	d. 27 September, 1878	65
Hon. Samuel Abbott Green, LL.D. . . .	Boston	" " "		
*Hon. James Murray Robbins	Milton	14 June, "	d. 2 November, 1885 .	89
Charles Eliot Norton, D.C.L.	Cambridge	" " "		
*Hon. John James Babson	Gloucester	8 November, "	d. 13 April, 1886 . . .	76
Rev. Edward Everett Hale, D.D.	Boston	10 January, 1861 .		
*Robert Bennet Forbes, Esq.	Milton	" " "	d. 23 November, 1889 .	85
*Rev. Andrew Preston Peabody, D.D. . . .	Cambridge	14 February, "	d. 10 March, 1893 . .	81
*Hon. Theron Metcalf, LL.D.	Boston	" " "	d. 14 November, 1875 .	91
*William Gray Brooks, Esq.	"	11 April, "	d. 6 January, 1879 . .	73
Hon. Horace Gray, LL.D.	"	" " "		
*Hon. Charles Greeley Loring, LL.D. . . .	"	9 May, "	d. 8 October, 1867 . .	73
*Charles Folsom, A.M.	Cambridge	" " "	d. 8 November, 1872 .	77
*Rev. Edwards Amasa Park, LL.D.	Andover	12 September, "	d. 4 June, 1900	91
*Amos Adams Lawrence, A.M.	Brookline	10 October, "	d. 22 August, 1886 . .	72
*†Rev. William Augustus Stearns, LL.D. .	Amherst	13 February, 1862 .	R. 9 February, 1871.	
*Charles Sprague, A.M.	Boston	" " "	d. 22 January, 1875 .	83
*Hon. Francis Edward Parker, LL.B. . . .	"	12 February, 1863 .	d. 18 January, 1886 .	64
*William Henry Whitmore, A.M.	"	" " "	d. 14 June, 1900 . . .	63
*George Barrell Emerson, LL.D.	"	9 April, "	d. 4 March, 1881 . . .	83
*Hon. James Russell Lowell, LL.D. . . .	Cambridge	14 May, "	d. 12 August, 1891 . .	72
*Rev. Nicholas Hoppin, D.D.	"	14 January, 1864 .	d. 8 March, 1886 . . .	73
*Nathaniel Thayer, A.M.	Boston	11 February, "	d. 7 March, 1883 . . .	74
*Erastus Brigham Bigelow, LL.D.	"	14 April, "	d. 6 December, 1879 .	65
*Hon. William Crowninshield Endicott, LL.D.	Salem	" " "	d. 6 May, 1900	73
*Hon. Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar, LL.D. .	Concord	12 May, "	d. 31 January, 1895 .	78
*Hon. Seth Ames, A.M.	Boston	8 December, "	d. 15 August, 1881 . .	76
Josiah Phillips Quincy, A.M.	Quincy	11 May, 1865 .		
*George Bemis, LL.B.	Boston	13 July, "	d. 5 January, 1878 . .	61
†John Foster Kirk, LL.D.	Dorchester	9 November, "	R. 10 November, 1870.	
*Hon. John Albion Andrew, LL.D.	Boston	8 February, 1866 .	d. 30 October, 1867 .	49
Henry Gardner Denny, A.M.	"	13 December, "		
*†Rev. Thomas Hill, LL.D.	Waltham	14 February, 1867 .	Rem. July, 1872.	
Charles Card Smith, A.M.	Boston	11 April, "		
*George Silsbee Hale, A.M.	"	" " "	d. 27 July, 1897	71
*Jeffries Wyman, M.D.	Cambridge	9 July, 1868	d. 4 September, 1874 .	60
*John Appleton, M.D.	"	14 January, 1869 .	d. 4 February, 1869 .	60
*Robert Means Mason, Esq.	Boston	" " "	d. 13 March, 1879 . .	68
William Sumner Appleton, A.M.	"	13 May, "		
*Rev. Henry Martyn Dexter, LL.D. . . .	"	12 August, "	d. 13 November, 1890 .	69

NAME.	RESIDENCE.	DATE OF ELECTION.	MEMBERSHIP CEASED.	AGE.
*Hon. Theodore Lyman, LL.D.	Brookline . .	11 November, 1869	d. 9 September, 1897 . .	64
*Edmund Quincy, A.M.	Dedham . . .	9 December, " . .	d. 17 May, 1877	69
†Hon. William Thomas Davis, A.B.	Plymouth . .	12 May, 1870 . .	R. 14 May, 1880.	
*Rev. George Punchard, A.M.	Boston	8 December, " . .	d. 2 April, 1880	73
Abner Cheney Goodell, Jr., A.M.	Salem	9 March, 1871 . .		
*William Amory, A.M.	Boston	13 April, " . .	d. 8 December, 1888 . .	84
Edward Doubleday Harris, Esq.	Cambridge . .	11 May, " . .		
*Ralph Waldo Emerson, LL.D.	Concord . . .	15 June, " . .	d. 27 April, 1882 . . .	78
*Augustus Thorndike Perkins, A.M.	Boston	8 February, 1872 .	d. 21 April, 1891 . . .	63
*Hon. Mellen Chamberlain, LL.D.	Chelsea	9 January, 1873 .	d. 25 June, 1900	79
Winslow Warren, LL.B.	Dedham . . .	" " " . .		
*Francis Winthrop Palfrey, A.M.	Boston	13 February, " . .	d. 5 December, 1889 . .	58
*Charles Wesley Tuttle, Ph.D.	"	" " " . .	d. 18 July, 1881	51
*Hon. Benjamin Robbins Curtis, LL.D.	"	8 May, " . .	d. 15 September, 1874 .	64
*Hon. Charles Sumner, LL.D.	"	9 October, " . .	d. 11 March, 1874 . . .	63
Charles William Eliot, LL.D.	Cambridge . .	" " " . .		
*†William Gray, A.M.	Boston	14 May, 1874 . .	R. 9 October, 1884.	
*Delano Alexander Goddard, A.M.	"	8 October, " . .	d. 11 January, 1882 . .	50
*Rev. Henry Wilder Foote, A.M.	"	12 November, " . .	d. 29 May, 1889	50
*Charles Callahan Perkins, A.M.	"	10 December, " . .	d. 25 August, 1886 . . .	63
*Charles Franklin Dunbar, LL.D.	Cambridge . .	11 February, 1875 .	d. 29 January, 1900 . .	69
*Hon. Charles Devens, LL.D.	Worcester . .	11 March, " . .	d. 7 January, 1891 . . .	70
Charles Francis Adams, LL.D.	Quincy	15 April, " . .		
William Phineas Upham, A.B.	Salem	11 November, " . .		
*Hon. Alexander Hamilton Bullock, LL.D.	Worcester . .	9 December, " . .	d. 17 January, 1882 . .	65
*Fitch Edward Oliver, M.D.	Boston	13 January, 1876 .	d. 8 December, 1892 . .	73
Hon. William Everett, LL.D.	Cambridge . .	8 March, " . .		
George Bigelow Chase, A.M.	Boston	9 November, " . .		
Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge, LL.D.	Nahant	14 December, " . .		
John Torrey Morse, Jr., A.B.	Beverly . . .	11 January, 1877 .		
*Justin Winsor, LL.D.	Boston	14 June, " . .	d. 22 October, 1897 . .	66
James Elliot Cabot, LL.D.	Brookline . .	8 November, " . .		
*George Dexter, A.M.	Cambridge . .	" " " . .	d. 18 December, 1883 .	45
*†Hon. Gustavus Vasa Fox	Boston	13 December, " . .	Rem. October, 1882.	
*Henry Lee, A.M.	"	14 March, 1878 . .	d. 24 November, 1898 .	81
Gamaliel Bradford, A.B.	Grantville . .	10 April, " . .		
Rev. Edward James Young, D.D.	Cambridge . .	13 June, " . .		
*Hon. John Lowell, LL.D.	Newton	12 September, " . .	d. 14 May, 1897	72
*Abbott Lawrence, A.M.	Boston	12 December, " . .	d. 6 July, 1893	64
*Rev. James Freeman Clarke, D.D.	"	13 March, 1879 . .	d. 8 June, 1888	78
*Rt. Rev. Phillips Brooks, D.D.	"	" " " . .	d. 23 January, 1893 . .	57
*William Whitwell Greenough, A.B.	"	10 April, " . .	d. 17 June, 1899	80
Robert Charles Winthrop, Jr., A.M.	"	8 May, " . .		
Henry Williamson Haynes, A.M.	"	12 June, " . .		
Thomas Wentworth Higginson, LL.D.	Cambridge . .	12 February, 1880 .		
*Rev. Edward Griffin Porter, A.M.	Lexington . .	6 April, " . .	d. 5 February, 1900 . .	63
*John Codman Ropes, LL.D.	Boston	10 June, " . .	d. 28 October, 1899 . .	63
*Hon. Paul Ansel Chadbourne, LL.D.	Williamstown .	" " " . .	d. 23 February, 1883 . .	59
Rev. Henry Fitch Jenks, A.M.	Boston	10 February, 1881 .		
*Hon. Samuel Crocker Cobb.	"	12 May, " . .	d. 18 February, 1891 . .	64
Horace Elisha Scudder, Litt. D.	Cambridge . .	" " " . .		
Rev. Edmund Farwell Slafter, D.D.	Boston	13 October, " . .		
Hon. Stephen Salisbury, A.M.	Worcester . .	10 November, " . .		
John Tyler Hassam, A.M.	Boston	" " " . .		
Rev. Alexander McKenzie, D.D.	Cambridge . .	8 December, " . .		
*John Charles Phillips, A.B.	Boston	12 January, 1882 .	d. 1 March, 1885	46
Arthur Lord, A.B.	Plymouth . .	9 February, " . .		
Arthur Blake Ellis, LL.B.	Boston	9 March, " . .		

MEMBERS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. xiii

NAME.	RESIDENCE.	DATE OF ELECTION.	MEMBERSHIP CEASED.	AGE.
*Hon. Henry Morris, LL.D.	Springfield . .	9 March, 1882 .	d. 4 June, 1888	73
*Clement Hugh Hill, A.M.	Boston	11 May, " .	d. 12 December, 1898	62
*Rear-Admiral George Henry Preble	Brookline . .	" " " .	d. 1 March, 1885 . . .	69
Frederick Ward Putnam, A.M.	Cambridge . .	9 November, " .		
James McKellar Bugbee, Esq.	Boston	" " " .		
Hon. John Davis Washburn, LL.B.	Worcester . .	14 December, " .		
Rev. Egbert Coffin Smyth, D.D.	Andover . . .	" " " .		
*Francis Amasa Walker, LL.D.	Boston	10 May, 1883	d. 5 January, 1897 . .	56
Rev. Arthur Latham Perry, LL.D.	Williamstown	" " "		
Hon. John Elliot Sanford, LL.D.	Taunton . . .	10 January, 1884 .		
Uriel Haskell Crocker, LL.B.	Boston	14 February, " .		
*Hon. Martin Brimmer, A.B.	"	13 March, " .	d. 14 January, 1896 .	66
Hon. Roger Wolcott, LL.D.	"	10 April, " .		
*William Goodwin Russell, LL.D.	"	13 November, " .	d. 6 February, 1896 .	74
*Edward Jackson Lowell, A.M.	"	" " " .	d. 11 May, 1894 . . .	48
Edward Channing, Ph.D.	Cambridge . .	11 December, " .		
*Hon. Lincoln Flagg Brigham, LL.D. . . .	Salem	14 May, 1885	d. 27 February, 1895 .	75
*Edward Bangs, LL.B.	Boston	11 June, "	d. 16 February, 1894	68
Samuel Foster McCleary, A.M.	"	11 February, 1886 .		
William Watson Goodwin, D.C.L.	Cambridge . .	14 October, " .		
Hon. George Frisbie Hoar, LL.D.	Worcester . .	11 November, " .		
Rev. Alexander Viets Griswold Allen, D.D.	Cambridge . .	9 December, " .		
Charles Greely Loring, A.M.	Boston	13 January, 1887 .		
*Rev. Octavius Brooks Frothingham, A.M.	"	10 February, " .	d. 27 November, 1895	73
Solomon Lincoln, A.M.	"	10 November, " .		
Edwin Pliny Seaver, A.M.	Newton	8 December, " .		
Albert Bushnell Hart, Ph.D.	Cambridge . .	10 January, 1889 .		
Thornton Kirkland Lothrop, LL.B. . . .	Boston	11 April, " .		
*George Otis Shattuck, LL.B.	"	13 June, " .	d. 23 February, 1897	67
James Bradley Thayer, LL.D.	Cambridge . .	10 October, " .		
Hon. Henry Stedman Nourse, A.M.	Lancaster . .	14 November, " .		
Henry Fitz-Gilbert Waters, A.M.	Salem	9 January, 1890 .		
*Edwin Lassetter Bynner, LL.B.	Boston	13 February, " .	d. 5 August, 1893 . .	51
*Hamilton Andrews Hill, LL.D.	"	13 March, " .	d. 27 April, 1895 . .	68
*Hon. William Steele Shurtleff, A.M. . . .	Springfield . .	13 November, " .	d. 14 January, 1896 .	65
Abbott Lawrence Lowell, LL.B.	Boston	11 December, " .		
*Benjamin Marston Watson, A.B.	Plymouth . .	12 February, 1891	d. 19 February, 1896 .	76
Rev. Samuel Edward Herrick, D.D.	Boston	12 March, " .		
Hon. Oliver Wendell Holmes, LL.D. . . .	"	14 May, " .		
Henry Pickering Walcott, M.D.	Cambridge . .	11 June, " .		
John Fiske, LL.D.	"	10 March, 1892 . .		
George Spring Merriam, A.M.	Springfield . .	9 June, " .		
*Edward Lillie Pierce, LL.D.	Milton	9 March, 1893 .	d. 6 September, 1897	68
Hon. Charles Russell Codman, LL.B. . . .	Cotuit	13 April, " .		
Barrett Wendell, A.B.	Boston	8 June, " .		
James Ford Rhodes, LL.D.	Cambridge . .	14 December, " .		
Hon. Edward Francis Johnson, LL.B. . . .	Woburn . . .	8 February, 1894 .		
*Hon. Walbridge Abner Field, LL.D. . . .	Boston	12 April, " .	d. 15 July, 1899 . . .	66
Henry Walbridge Taft, A.M.	Pittsfield . .	10 May, " .		
Rt. Rev. William Lawrence, D.D.	Cambridge . .	14 June, " .		
William Roscoe Thayer, A.M.	"	11 October, " .		
Rev. Morton Dexter, A.M.	Boston	14 March, 1895 .		
Hon. Thomas Jefferson Coolidge, A.M. . .	Manchester .	9 May, " .		
Hon. William Wallace Crapo, LL.D. . . .	New Bedford	14 November, " .		
Hon. Francis Cabot Lowell, A.B.	Boston	9 January, 1896 .		
Granville Stanley Hall, LL.D.	Worcester . .	13 February, " .		
Alexander Agassiz, LL.D.	Cambridge . .	12 March, " .		
Hon. James Madison Barker, LL.D. . . .	Pittsfield . .	9 April, " .		

xiv MEMBERS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

NAME.	RESIDENCE.	DATE OF ELECTION.	MEMBERSHIP CEASED.	AGE.
Col. Theodore Ayrault Dodge	Brookline . . .	14 May, 1896		
*Hon. Henry Lillie Pierce	Boston	12 November, , .	d. 17 December, 1896	71
Thomas Corwin Mendenhall, LL.D.	Worcester . .	14 January, 1897 .		
Rev. Leverett Wilson Spring, D.D.	Williamstown	11 February, , .		
Major William Roscoe Livermore	Boston	8 April, , .		
Hon. Richard Olney, LL.D.	, , ...	13 May, , .		
Lucien Carr, A.M.	Cambridge . .	10 June, , .		
James Schouler, LL.D.	Boston	9 December, , .		
Hon. John Summerfield Brayton, LL.D. .	Fall River . .	13 January, 1898 .		
Rev. George Angier Gordon, D.D.	Boston	10 February, , .		
John Chipman Gray, LL.D.	, , ...	10 March, , .		
Hon. George Harris Monroe	Brookline . . .	14 April, , .		
Rev. James De Normandie, D.D.	Boston	9 June, , .		
Andrew McFarland Davis, A.M.	Cambridge . .	13 October, , .		
Archibald Cary Coolidge, Ph.D.	, , ...	9 February, 1899 .		
John Noble, LL.B.	Boston	9 March, , .		
Robert Noxon Toppan, LL.B.	Cambridge . .	11 May, , .		
Charles Pickering Bowditch, A.M.	Boston	9 November, , .		
Rev. Edward Henry Hall, A.B.	Cambridge . .	14 December, , .		
James Frothingham Hunnewell, A.M. . .	Boston	11 January, 1900 .		
Hon. Daniel Henry Chamberlain, LL.D. .	West Brookfield	8 February, , .		
*Augustus Lowell, A.M.	Boston	8 March, , .	d. 22 June, 1900 . . .	70
Melville Madison Bigelow, LL.D.	Cambridge . .	12 April, , .		
Rev. Elijah Winchester Donald, D.D. . .	Boston	10 May, , .		

HONORARY AND CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

NAME.	RESIDENCE.	DATE OF ELECTION.
*Ebenezer Hazard, Esq.	Philadelphia, Penn.	29 May, 1792.
*Hon. John Jay, LL.D.	Bedford, N. Y.	" " "
*†James Perkins, Esq.	Then of Cape François, Hayti	" " "
*Hon. David Ramsay, M.D.	Charleston, S. C.	" " "
*Rev. Alexander Spark	Quebec, Canada	" " "
*Charles Thomson, Esq.	Philadelphia, Penn.	" " "
*Noah Webster, LL.D.	New Haven, Conn.	13 August, "
*Hon. Samuel Tenney, M.D.	Exeter, N. H.	8 October, "
*Rev. John Erskine, LL.D.	Edinburgh, Scotland	" " "
*Rev. Ezra Stiles, LL.D.	New Haven, Conn.	23 " "
*†Hon. Edmund Randolph ¹	Frederick County, Va.	" " "
*Hon. Nathaniel Niles, A.M.	Fairlee, Vt.	2 January, 1793.
*Rev. Andrew Brown, D.D.	Edinburgh, Scotland	30 April, "
*Rev. John Jones Spooner, A.M.	Martin's Brandon, Va.	26 November, "
*Hon. Winthrop Sargent, A.M.	Natchez, Miss.	28 January, 1794.
*Rev. Christopher Daniel Ebeling	Hamburg, Germany	28 October, "
*John Coakley Lettsom, LL.D.	London, England	27 January, 1795.
*Sir William Jones, LL.D. ²	Calcutta, Bengal	" " "
*Phineas Miller, Esq.	Savannah, Ga.	17 August, "
*Hugh Williamson, LL.D.	Edenton, N. C.	" " "
*Rev. David MacClure, D.D.	East Windsor, Conn.	" " "
*James Clarke, Esq.	Halifax, Nova Scotia	" " "
*Hon. St. George Tucker, LL.D.	Williamsburg, Va.	" " "
*Gardiner Baker, Esq.	New York, N. Y.	" " "
*Benjamin Smith Barton, M.D.	Philadelphia, Penn.	26 January, 1796.
*†Hon. William Blount ¹	Tennessee	25 October, "
*Gilbert Harrison Hubbard, A.M.	Demerara, Guiana	18 November, "
*Isaac Senter, M.D.	Newport, R. I.	" " "
*Hon. Oliver Wolcott, LL.D.	New York, N. Y.	" " "
*Rev. Asa Norton	Paris, N. Y.	31 January, 1797.
*Hon. Stephen Van Rensselaer, LL.D.	Albany, N. Y.	" " "
*Hon. Henry William Desaussure	Charleston, S. C.	25 April, "
*Lemuel Kollock, M.D.	Savannah, Ga.	" " "
*Ephraim Ramsay, Esq.	Charleston, S. C.	" " "
*Rev. Timothy Dwight, LL.D.	New Haven, Conn.	31 October, "
*John Dunn, LL.D.	Killaly, Ireland	1 December, "
*Elihu Hubbard Smith, M.D.	New York, N. Y.	" " "
*Samuel Latham Mitchill, LL.D.	" "	30 January, 1798.
*Benjamin Thompson, Count Rumford	Auteuil, France	" " "
*Hon. Timothy Pickering, LL.D.	Then of Philadelphia, Penn.	24 April, "
*Rev. Andrew Eliot, A.M.	Fairfield, Conn.	30 October, "
*Rev. Benjamin Trumbull, D.D.	North Haven, Conn.	" " "
*Hon. Jonathan Trumbull, LL.D.	Lebanon, Conn.	30 April, 1799.

¹ See Proceedings, vol. i. p. 106.

² See 2 Proceedings, vol. ii. p. 149.

NAME.	RESIDENCE.	DATE OF ELECTION.
*Benjamin De Witt, M.D.	Albany, N. Y.	18 July, 1799.
*Caspar Wistar, M.D.	Philadelphia, Penn.	" " "
*Rev. Samuel Miller, LL.D.	New York, N. Y.	" " "
*Thomas Pieronnet	Demerara, Guiana	28 January, 1800.
*Rev. Arthur Homer, D.D.	Cambridge, England	" " "
*Hon. Theodore Foster, A.M.	Providence, R. I.	28 October, "
*Rev. Thomas Hall	Leghorn, Italy	28 April, 1801.
*Rev. Timothy Alden, D.D.	Portsmouth, N. H.	1 October, "
*John Newman, M.D.	Salisbury, N. C.	27 April, 1802.
*Rev. Ezra Sampson, A.B.	Hudson, N. Y.	26 August, "
*John Vaughan, Esq.	Philadelphia, Penn.	" " "
*William Barton, A.M.	Lancaster, Penn.	26 October, "
*Ebenezer Grant Marsh, A.M.	New Haven, Conn.	1 September, 1803.
*Rt. Rev. Richard Watson, D.D.	Calgarth Park, Westmoreland, England	31 January, 1804.
*Anthony Fothergill, M.D.	Bath, England	28 August, "
*William Johnson, LL.D.	New York, N. Y.	28 May, 1805.
*Sir Charles Mary Wentworth, Bart., D.C.L. .	Halifax, Nova Scotia	" " "
*Robert Anderson, M.D.	Edinburgh, Scotland	27 August, "
*Hon. Samuel Eddy, LL.D.	Providence, R. I.	" " "
*Charles Vallancey, Esq.	Dublin, Ireland	7 November, "
*Hon. William Plumer	Epping, N. H.	25 August, 1807.
*Hon. John Wheelock, LL.D.	Hanover, N. H.	" " "
*Jonathan Williams, Esq.	Philadelphia, Penn.	27 October, "
*Rt. Hon. Earl of Buchan	Edinburgh, Scotland	30 August, 1808.
*Benjamin Silliman, LL.D.	New Haven, Conn.	7 September, "
*Rev. John Bassett, A.M.	Albany, N. Y.	29 August, 1809.
*Rev. John Disney, D.D.	The Hyde, Ingatestone, England . . .	" " "
*Hon. John Marshall, LL.D.	Richmond, Va.	" " "
*Constant Freeman, Esq.	Washington, D. C.	25 April, 1811.
*Moses Fiske, Esq.	White Plains, Tenn.	31 October, "
*Hon. Timothy Pitkin, LL.D.	Farmington, Conn.	25 August, 1812.
*Edward Jenner, LL.D.	Berkeley, England	29 October, "
*Elkanah Watson, Esq. ¹	Port Kent, N. Y.	" " "
*Rev. Eliphalet Nott, LL.D.	Schenectady, N. Y.	29 April, 1813.
*Hon. Elias Boudinot, LL.D.	Burlington, N. J.	" " "
*Hon. John Cotton Smith, LL.D.	Sharon, Conn.	" " "
*John Pintard, LL.D.	New York, N. Y.	28 October, "
*David Hosack, LL.D.	" "	27 January, 1814.
*John Wakefield Francis, LL.D.	" "	" " "
*Rev. William Harris, D.D.	" "	" " "
*Hon. De Witt Clinton, LL.D.	" "	28 April, "
*Rev. James Richards, D.D.	Newark, N. J.	26 January, 1815.
*George Chalmers, Esq.	London, England	25 April, 1816.
*Hon. Charles Humphrey Atherton, A.M. . .	Amherst, N. H.	" " "
*Michael Joy, A.M.	Hartham Park, Chippenham, England	27 August, "
*Rev. Robert Morrison, D.D.	Canton, China	31 October, "
*Hon. Samuel Bavard, A.M.	Princeton, N. J.	24 April, 1817.
*Hugh McCall, Esq.	Savannah, Ga.	30 October, "
*Baron Alexander von Humboldt	Berlin, Prussia	" " "
*Hon. Peter Stephen Du Ponceau, LL.D. . .	Philadelphia, Penn.	29 January, 1818.
*William Trumbull Williams, Esq.	Lebanon, Conn.	30 April, "
*Jonathan Goodhue, Esq.	New York, N. Y.	29 April, 1819.
*Robert Southey, LL.D.	Keswick, England	" " "
*Hon. Gulian Crommelin Verplanck, LL.D. .	New York, N. Y.	27 January, 1820.
*Elisha Hutchinson, Esq.	Birmingham, England	27 April, "
*Robert Walsh, LL.D.	Philadelphia, Penn.	29 August, "
*John Van Ness Yates, Esq.	Albany, N. Y.	" " "

¹ There is no evidence in the records that Elkanah Watson was ever chosen a Corresponding Member. His name appears for the first time in a list in the Collections (2d series), vol. x. p. 192, issued in 1823. See Proc., vol i. pp. 194, 195.

HONORARY AND CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

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NAME.	RESIDENCE.	DATE OF ELECTION.
*Carlo Botta	Paris, France	26 October, 1820.
*†Hon. Jeremiah Mason, LL.D.	Then of Portsmouth, N. H.	26 April, 1821.
*Nathaniel Appleton Haven, Jr., A.M.	Portsmouth, N. H.	31 January, 1822.
*John Farmer, A.M.	Amherst, N. H.	" " "
*Sir Walter Scott, Bart., LL.D.	Abbotsford, Scotland	" " "
*Friedrich von Adelung	Berlin, Prussia	25 April, "
*William Lee, Esq.	Washington, D. C.	27 August, "
*Admiral Sir Isaac Coffin, Bart., A.M.	London, England	31 October, "
*George William Erving, Esq.	New York, N. Y.	" " "
*Samuel Williams, A.M.	London, England	30 October, 1823.
*Hon. Rufus King, LL.D.	New York, N. Y.	28 October, 1824.
*Julius de Wallenstein	Prussia	" " "
*François de Barbé-Marbois, LL.D.	Paris, France	" " "
*Gilbert Motier, Marquis de Lafayette, LL.D.	" "	" " "
*Rev. Gregorio Funes, D.D.	Cordova, Tucuman, South America	27 October, 1825.
*Don Manuel Moreno, M.D.	Buenos Ayres, " "	" " "
*Don José Maria Salazar	Colombia, " "	" " "
*Adam Winthrop, A.M.	New Orleans, La.	27 April, 1826.
*Rev. John Hutchinson	Blurton, England	28 August, 1827.
*Hon. Theodoric Bland	Annapolis, Md.	" " "
*Manuel Lorenzo Vidaurré	Lima, Peru	19 February, 1829.
*Hon. Albert Gallatin, LL.D.	New York, N. Y.	" " "
*Rev. Timothy Flint, A.B.	Red River, La.	" " "
*Prof. Charles Christian Rafn, Ph.D.	Copenhagen, Denmark	30 April, "
*Chevalier Peder Pedersen	" "	" " "
*Thomas Chandler Haliburton, D.C.L.	Windsor, Nova Scotia	29 October, "
*Hon. Washington Irving, LL.D.	Sunnyside, Tarrytown, N. Y.	" " "
*James Grahame, LL.D.	London, England	" " "
*David Bailie Warden, Esq.	Paris, France	28 January, 1830.
*Rev. Henry Channing, A.M.	New London, Conn.	5 May, 1831.
*John Hay Farnham, A.M.	Salem, Ind.	30 August, "
*John Fanning Watson, Esq.	Philadelphia, Penn.	26 October, "
*James Dean, LL.D.	Burlington, Vt.	" " "
*Charles Fraser, Esq.	Charleston, S. C.	26 January, 1832.
*†Col. Thomas Aspinwall, A.M.	Then of London, England	25 July, 1833.
*Sir Francis Palgrave	London, England	" " "
*Hon. Lewis Cass, LL.D.	Detroit, Mich.	" " "
*Rev. Jasper Adams, D.D.	Charleston, S. C.	27 August, "
*Hon. Roberts Vaux	Philadelphia, Penn.	31 October, "
*Hon. Theodore Dwight, A.M.	New York, N. Y.	27 March, 1834.
*Theodore Dwight, Jr., A.M.	" "	" " "
*James Mease, M.D.	Philadelphia, Penn.	26 June, "
*Hon. William Jay, LL.D.	Bedford, N. Y.	" " "
*Hon. Jonathan Sewall, LL.D.	Quebec, Canada	26 February, 1835.
*Sir John Caldwell, K.C.B.	" "	" " "
*Sharon Turner, Esq.	Winchmore Hill, England	25 June, "
*Francis Bayard Winthrop, A.M.	New Haven, Conn.	29 October, "
*Adrian de Laval Montmorency	Paris, France	31 December, "
*César Moreau	" "	" " "
*John Smyth Rogers, M.D.	Hartford, Conn.	" " "
*Erastus Smith, Esq.	New Haven, Conn.	" " "
*William Schlegel	Copenhagen, Denmark	" " "
*Finn Magnusen	" "	" " "
*Col. Juan Galindo	Guatemala, Central America	28 January, 1836.
*Hon. Henry Adams Bullard, A.M.	New Orleans, La.	26 May, "
*Hon. Richard Biddle	Pittsburg, Penn.	" " "
*Hon. James Kirke Paulding, A.M.	New York, N. Y.	30 June, "
*Hon. Henry Clay, LL.D.	Lexington, Ky.	28 July, "
*†Rev. William Allen, D.D.	Then of Brunswick, Me.	" " "

NAME.	RESIDENCE.	DATE OF ELECTION.
*Hon. Levi Woodbury, LL.D.	Portsmouth, N. H.	28 July, 1836.
*Rev. Benjamin Tappan, D.D.	Augusta, Maine	27 October, "
*Joshua Francis Fisher, A.M.	Philadelphia, Penn.	" " "
*Jacob Antoine Moerenhout	Los Angeles, Cal.	" " "
*Usher Parsons, M.D.	Providence, R. I.	24 November, "
*Hon. William Durkee Williamson, A.M.	Bangor, Maine	" " "
*Hon. George Folsom, LL.D.	New York, N. Y.	29 December, "
*Peter Gerard Stuyvesant, Esq.	" "	30 March, 1837.
*Rev. Luther Halsey, D.D.	Auburn, N. Y.	" " "
*Rev. John Jacob Robertson, D.D.	Saugerties, N. Y.	26 October, "
*Jacobaki Rizos	Athens, Greece	" " "
*Hon. Job Durfee, LL.D.	Tiverton, R. I.	" " "
*Hon. Andrew William Cochran, Q.C.	Quebec, Canada	22 February, 1838.
*John Disney, Esq.	The Hyde, Ingatestone, England ...	28 June, "
*Rev. Francis Lister Hawks, LL.D.	New York, N. Y.	26 July, "
*Rev. Leonard Bacon, LL.D.	New Haven, Conn.	" " "
*James Luce Kingsley, LL.D.	" "	28 August, "
*Henri Ternaux-Compans	Paris, France	" " "
*John Lloyd Stephens, A.M.	New York, N. Y.	27 September, "
*George Catlin, Esq.	" "	" " "
*John Winthrop, Esq.	New Orleans, La.	25 October, "
*Constantine Demetrius Schinas	Athens, Greece	" " "
*Col. William Leete Stone	New York, N. Y.	31 January, 1839.
*Joaquim José Da Costa de Macedo	Lisbon, Portugal	25 April, "
*Hon. Daniel Dewey Barnard, LL.D.	Albany, N. Y.	27 June, "
*Frederic de Waldeck	Paris, France	26 September, "
*Israel Keech Tefft, Esq.	Savannah, Ga.	31 October, "
*Hon. John Macpherson Berrien, LL.D.	" "	" " "
*†Edward Jarvis, M.D.	Then of Louisville, Ky.	" " "
*Hon. David Lowry Swain, LL.D.	Chapel Hill, N. C.	26 November, "
*Hon. James Moore Wayne, LL.D.	Savannah, Ga.	" " "
*Hon. Matthew Hall McAllister, LL.D.	San Francisco, Cal.	" " "
*Rt. Rev. William Bacon Stevens, LL.D.	Philadelphia, Penn.	30 July, 1840.
*Col. George Bomford	Washington, D. C.	" " "
*Le Chevalier Friedrichsthal	Vienna, Austria	25 August, "
*Hon. Henry Black, LL.D.	Quebec, Canada	29 October, "
*†Hon. Joel Parker, LL.D.	Then of Keene, N. H.	" " "
*Rev. John Lee, LL.D.	Edinburgh, Scotland	" " "
*Hon. Thomas Day, LL.D.	Hartford, Conn.	31 December, "
*Count Jacob Graberg de Hermsø, M.A.	Florence, Italy	27 May, 1841.
*Rev. Charles Burroughs, D.D.	Portsmouth, N. H.	24 February, 1842.
*George Atkinson Ward, A.M.	New York, N. Y.	17 November, "
*Rev. Joseph Hunter, F.S.A.	London, England	" " "
*Richard Almack, F.S.A.	Long Melford, Suffolk, England ...	" " "
*Rev. George Oliver, D.D.	Exeter, England	30 March, 1843.
*Rev. Philip Bliss, D.C.L.	Oxford, England	" " "
*Sir Archibald Alison, Bart., D.C.L.	Possil House, Lanarkshire, Scotland .	27 April, "
*Col. James Duncan Graham	U. S. Topographical Engineers	30 May, 1844.
*Robert Lemon, Esq.	London, England	26 September, "
*Thomas Colley Grattan, Esq.	" "	26 December, "
*Don Pedro de Angelis	Buenos Ayres, South America	30 January, 1845.
*John Romeyne Brodhead, A.M.	New York, N. Y.	" " "
*Thomas Best Jervis, F.R.S.	British Army	27 March, "
*Benjamin Franklin Thompson, Esq.	New York, N. Y.	4 December, "
*Richard Griffin, Lord Braybrooke, F.S.A. .	Audley End, Essex, England	7 May, 1846.
*Ephraim George Squier, Esq.	Chillicothe, O.	29 June, 1848.
*Payne Kenyon Kilbourne, A.M.	Litchfield, Conn.	23 November, "
*Miss Frances Manwaring Caulkins	Norwich, Conn.	26 April, 1849.
*Thomas Donaldson, A.M.	Baltimore, Md.	22 November, "

HONORARY AND CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

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NAME.	RESIDENCE.	DATE OF ELECTION.
*Hon. George Bancroft, LL.D.	Washington, D. C.	28 February, 1850.
*Lucas Alaman	Mexico	" " "
*Hon. James Hammond Trumbull, LL.D. ..	Hartford, Conn.	27 June, "
*Robert Bigsby, LL.D.	Ashby-de-la-Zouch, England	27 March, 1851.
*Theodoric Romeyne Beck, M.D.	Albany, N. Y.	29 May, "
*Rev. Joseph Romilly, M.A.	Cambridge, England	8 July, 1852.
*James Riker, Esq.	Harlem, N. Y.	11 November, "
*Henry Bond, M.D.	Philadelphia, Penn.	8 September, 1853.
*Henry Stevens, F.S.A.	London, England	" " "
*Cyrus Eaton, A.M.	Warren, Maine	" " "
*Rt. Hon. Lord Macaulay, D.C.L.	London, England	11 May, 1854.
*Henry Hallam, D.C.L.	" "	" " "
*Hon. William Willis, LL.D.	Portland, Maine	" " "
*Frederic Griffin, Esq.	Montreal, Canada	10 August, "
*John Carter Brown, A.M.	Providence, R. I.	" " "
*Hon. Elijah Hayward	Columbus, Ohio	" " "
*Rev. William Scott Southgate, D.D.	Scarborough, Maine	14 December, "
*Hon. Samuel Greene Arnold, LL.D.	Providence, R. I.	8 March, 1855.
*Hon. Charles Stewart Daveis, LL.D.	Portland, Maine	10 May, "
*James Lenox, LL.D.	New York, N. Y.	12 July, "
*John Gilmary Shea, LL.D.	" "	" " "
*Rt. Rev. Samuel Wilberforce, LL.D.	Lavington, Sussex, England	9 August, "
*Winthrop Sargent, A.M.	Philadelphia, Penn.	10 January, 1856.
*Earl Stanhope, D.C.L.	Chevening, Kent, England	14 February, "
*Hon. William Cabell Rives, LL.D.	Linsey's Store, Virginia	13 March, "
*Hon. John Russell Bartlett, A.M.	Providence, R. I.	8 May, "
*Hon. Peter Force	Washington, D. C.	14 August, "
*† Samuel Eliot, LL.D.	Then of Hartford, Conn.	9 October, "
*William Paver, Esq.	York, England	11 December, "
*George Barthélemy Faribault, Esq.	Quebec, Canada	8 January, 1857.

HONORARY AND CORRESPONDING MEMBERS,

ELECTED SINCE THE PASSAGE OF THE ACT OF 1857.

NAME.	RESIDENCE.	DATE OF ELECTION.
*Rev. William Buell Sprague, LL.D.	Albany, N. Y.	12 March, 1857.
*François Pierre Guillaume Guizot, LL.D. ..	Paris, France	14 May, "
*Alexis Clerel de Tocqueville, LL.D.	Tocqueville, France	" " "
*William Durrant Cooper, F.S.A.	London, England	" " "
*Rev. Samuel Osgood, LL.D.	New York, N. Y.	9 July, "
*Edmund Burke O'Callaghan, LL.D.	Albany, N. Y.	10 September, "
*Buckingham Smith, Esq.	St. Augustine, Fla.	" " "
*Benjamin Franklin French, Esq.	New Orleans, La.	" " "
*Francis Lieber, LL.D.	New York, N. Y.	14 January, 1858.
*Rt. Hon. Lord Lyndhurst, LL.D.	London, England	11 February, "
*Hon. William Henry Trescot	Charleston, S. C.	" " "
*Count Jules de Menou	Paris, France	8 April, "
*Richard Hildreth, A.M.	New York, N. Y.	13 May, "
*† Rev. Andrew Preston Peabody, D.D.	Then of Portsmouth, N. H.	" " "
*Hon. Richard Rush, A.M.	Philadelphia, Penn.	17 June, "
*Hon. George Perkins Marsh, LL.D.	Burlington, Vt.	" " "
*John George Kohl, LL.D.	Bremen, Germany	11 August, "
*Hon. Albert Gorton Greene, A.M.	Providence, R. I.	14 October, "
*Hon. John Pendleton Kennedy, LL.D.	Baltimore, Md.	" " "

NAME.	RESIDENCE.	DATE OF ELECTION.
*Hon. John Jordan Crittenden, LL.D.	Frankfort, Ky.	10 February, 1859.
*Benjamin Robert Winthrop, Esq.	New York, N. Y.	" " "
*Hon. Edward Coles	Philadelphia, Penn.	10 March, "
*James Carson Brevoort, LL.D.	New York, N. Y.	" " "
*Baron Charles Dupin	Paris, France	14 April, "
*Edme François Jomard	" "	" " "
*Hon. Henry Dilworth Gilpin	Philadelphia, Penn.	" " "
*Hon. Robert Hallowell Gardiner, A.M.	Gardiner, Me.	12 May, "
*Rt. Rev. Lord Arthur Charles Hervey, D.D.	Wells, England	" " "
*Horatio Gates Somerby, Esq.	London, England	" " "
*George Henry Moore, LL.D.	New York, N. Y.	9 June, "
*François Auguste Alexis Mignet	Paris, France	12 April, 1860.
*Hon. William Read Staples, LL.D.	Providence, R. I.	" " "
*Count Adolphe de Circourt	Paris, France.	8 November, "
*Hon. James Lewis Petigru, LL.D.	Charleston, S. C.	14 February, 1861.
*William Cullen Bryant, LL.D.	New York, N. Y.	" " "
*Hon. Hugh Blair Grigsby, LL.D.	Norfolk, Va.	" " "
*Very Rev. Henry Hart Milman, D.D.	London, England	11 April, "
*William Noël Sainsbury, Esq.	" "	" " "
*Hon. Horace Binney, LL.D.	Philadelphia, Penn.	9 May, "
*Samuel Austin Allibone, LL.D.	New York, N. Y.	" " "
*William Winthrop, Esq.	Valetta, Malta	" " "
*Henry Tuke Parker, A.M.	London, England	13 June, "
*Benson John Lossing, LL.D.	Dover Plains, N. Y.	11 July, "
*Rev. Leonard Woods, LL.D.	Brunswick, Maine	14 November, "
*Lieut.-Gen. Winfield Scott, LL.D.	Washington, D. C.	" " "
*Lyman Copeland Draper, LL.D.	Madison, Wis.	12 December, "
*Count Agénor de Gasparin, LL.D.	Geneva, Switzerland	12 February, 1863.
*Rt. Rev. George Burgess, D.D.	Gardiner, Maine	" " "
*George Washington Greene, LL.D.	Providence, R. I.	" " "
*Hon. Luther Bradish, LL.D.	New York, N. Y.	12 March, "
*Rev. William Greenleaf Eliot, D.D.	St. Louis, Mo.	" " "
*Hon. Millard Fillmore, LL.D.	Buffalo, N. Y.	9 April, "
*Henry Barton Dawson, Esq.	Morrisania, N. Y.	" " "
*George Grote, D.C.L.	London, England.	14 May, "
*Edouard René Lefèvre Laboulaye, LL.D.	Paris, France	10 December, "
*Hon. John Adams Dix, LL.D.	New York, N. Y.	14 January, 1864.
†John Foster Kirk, LL.D.	Then of Berne, Switzerland	11 February, "
" " " re-elected	Philadelphia, Penn.	8 December, 1870.
Goldwin Smith, D.C.L.	Toronto, Canada	13 October, 1864.
*John Forster, LL.D.	London, England	9 February, 1865.
*George Ticknor Curtis, A.M.	New York, N. Y.	9 March, "
*Hon. William Henry Seward, LL.D.	Auburn, N. Y.	20 April, "
*Evert Augustus Duyckinck, A.M.	New York, N. Y.	14 December, "
*†James Parton, A.M.	Then of New York, N. Y.	12 April, 1866.
*William Vincent Wells, Esq.	San Francisco, Cal.	10 May, "
*George Peabody, D.C.L.	London, England.	9 August, "
*Hon. John Meredith Read, A.M.	Albany, N. Y.	13 December, "
Joseph Jackson Howard, LL.D.	Blackheath, England	" " "
*James Anthony Froude, LL.D.	London, England	11 April, 1867.
*Leopold von Ranke	Berlin, Prussia	" " "
*Brantz Mayer, Esq.	Baltimore, Md.	6 June, "
*John Bruce, F.S.A.	London, England	" " "
*Rev. Theodore Dwight Woolsey, LL.D.	New Haven, Conn.	12 September, "
*John Winter Jones, F.S.A.	London, England	12 December, "
*John Gough Nichols, F.S.A.	" "	9 April, 1868.
*Richard Henry Major, F.S.A.	" "	14 May, "
*Louis Adolphe Thiers	Paris, France	14 January, 1869.
*Very Rev. Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, LL.D.	London, England	" " "

HONORARY AND CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

XXI

NAME.	RESIDENCE.	DATE OF ELECTION.
*William Wetmore Story, D.C.L.	Rome, Italy	14 January, 1869.
*Rev. Edmond de Pressensé, D.D.	Paris, France	11 February, "
*Charles Janeway Stillé, LL.D.	Philadelphia, Penn.	" " "
*Jules Marcou	Paris, France.	13 May, "
*Rev. Barnas Sears, LL.D.	Staunton, Va.	8 July, "
*Thomas Beamish Akins, D.C.L.	Halifax, Nova Scotia.	15 October, "
*Pierre Margry	Paris, France	" " "
*Thomas Carlyle, LL.D.	London, England	10 February, 1870.
Charles Jeremy Hoadly, LL.D.	Hartford, Conn.	8 September, "
*Henry Theodore Tuckerman, A.M.	New York, N. Y.	12 January, 1871.
*Rev. William Ives Budington, D.D.	Brooklyn, N. Y.	9 February, "
*Benjamin Scott, Esq.	Weybridge, England	" " "
*Hon. Charles Henry Bell, LL.D.	Exeter, N. H.	15 August, "
David Masson, LL.D.	Edinburgh, Scotland	" " "
*Rev. William Barry, D.D.	Chicago, Ill.	11 January, 1872.
*Hon. George Thomas Davis, LL.B.	Portland, Maine	8 February, "
*Rev. Edward Duffield Neill, D.D.	St. Paul, Minn.	14 March, "
*Marie Armand Pascal D'Avezac	Paris, France	" " "
*Rev. Jeremiah Lewis Diman, D.D.	Providence, R. I.	13 February, 1873.
*Col. Joseph Lemuel Chester, D.C.L.	London, England.	" " "
*Hon. Edward Turner Boyd Twisleton, M.A.	" "	13 March, "
*William Gammell, LL.D.	Providence, R. I.	10 July, "
*Edward Augustus Freeman, D.C.L.	Oxford, England	11 September, "
*Rev. Thomas Hill, LL.D.	Portland, Maine	9 October, "
*Josiah Gilbert Holland, M.D.	New York, N. Y.	13 November, "
*Hon. Manning Ferguson Force, LL.D.	Cincinnati, Ohio	" " "
*Achille, Marquis de Rochambeau	Vendôme, France	12 February, 1874.
*Sir John Bernard Burke, C.B., LL.D.	Dublin, Ireland	9 April, "
Samuel Rawson Gardiner, D.C.L.	Oxford, England	12 November, "
Hon. John Bigelow, LL.D.	New York, N. Y.	11 February, 1875.
*George William Curtis, LL.D.	West New Brighton, N. Y.	9 September, "
*Baron Franz Von Holtzendorff	Munich, Bavaria	14 October, "
Henry Charles Lea, LL.D.	Philadelphia, Penn.	" " "
Hubert Howe Bancroft, A.M.	San Francisco, Cal.	11 November, "
*S. A. R. Louis Philippe Albert, Comte de Paris	Paris, France	9 December, "
Rt. Rev. William Stubbs, LL.D.	Cuddesden, Oxford, England	12 October, 1876.
Hon. William Maxwell Evarts, LL.D.	New York, N. Y.	9 November, "
† Thomas Wentworth Higginson, LL.D.	Then of Newport, R. I.	" " "
*Rev. John Richard Green, LL.D.	London, England	" " "
*Rev. Richard Salter Storrs, LL.D.	Brooklyn, N. Y.	14 December, "
*Hon. Horatio Seymour, LL.D.	Utica, N. Y.	8 February, 1877.
Louis Gustave Vapereau	Paris, France	8 November, "
*William Frederick Poole, LL.D.	Chicago, Ill.	10 January, 1878.
*Rev. Eben Edwards Beardsley, LL.D.	New Haven, Conn.	" " "
John Austin Stevens, A.B.	New York, N. Y.	14 March, "
*Henri Martin	Paris, France	10 October, "
Joseph Florimond Loubat, LL.D.	New York, N. Y.	" " "
Charles Henry Hart, LL.B.	Philadelphia, Penn.	" " "
*John Hill Burton, D.C.L.	Edinburgh, Scotland	12 December, "
Rev. Moses Coit Tyler, LL.D.	Ithaca, N. Y.	13 February, 1879.
Hermann Eduard von Holst, Ph.D.	Chicago, Ill.	" " "
Franklin Bowditch Dexter, A.M.	New Haven, Conn.	8 May, "
John Marshall Brown, A.M.	Portland, Maine	" " "
Hon. Andrew Dickson White, LL.D.	Ithaca, N. Y.	11 September, "
George Washington Ranck, Esq.	Lexington, Ky.	11 December, "
*Frederick De Peyster, LL.D.	New York, N. Y.	11 March, 1880.
Sir James McPherson Le Moine	Quebec, Canada	6 April, "
*Alfred Langdon-Elwyn, M.D.	Philadelphia, Penn.	13 May, "
*Hon. Zachariah Allen, LL.D.	Providence, R. I.	9 September, "

NAME.	RESIDENCE.	DATE OF ELECTION.
Theodor Mommsen	Berlin, Prussia	14 October, 1880.
Rt. Hon. Sir George Otto Trevelyan, Bart., D.C.L.	London, England	9 December, "
Henry Adams, LL.D.	Washington, D. C.	" " "
*Julius Dexter, LL.B.	Cincinnati, Ohio	10 February, 1881.
Rev. Henry Martyn Baird, D.D.	New York, N. Y.	13 October, "
†Col. Henry Beebe Carrington, LL.D.	Then of New London, Conn.	" " "
Hon. William Wirt Henry	Richmond, Va.	10 November, "
Vicomte d'Haussonville	Paris, France	8 December, "
*Hon. Elihu Benjamin Washburne, LL.D.	Chicago, Ill.	12 January, 1882.
*William Francis Allen, A.M.	Madison, Wis.	9 February, "
*Sir John Robert Seeley, K.C.M.G., LL.D.	Cambridge, England	" " "
Rt. Hon. William Edward Hartpole Lecky, LL.D.	London, England	14 September, "
Rt. Hon. James Bryce, D.C.L.	" "	" " "
Rev. Charles Richmond Weld, LL.D.	Baltimore, Md.	11 January, 1883.
Herbert Baxter Adams, LL.D.	" "	" " "
*Hon. Gustavus Vasa Fox	Washington, D. C.	8 February, "
*Cornelio Desimoni	Genoa, Italy	8 March, "
*Brig.-Gen. George Washington Cullum	New York, N. Y.	14 February, 1884.
*Rev. George Washington Blagden, D.D.	" "	13 March, "
Hon. Jabez Lamar Monroe Curry, LL.D.	Richmond, Va.	12 March, 1885.
*Amos Perry, LL.D.	Providence, R. I.	" " "
*Horatio Hale, A.M.	Clinton, Ontario, Canada	11 March, 1886.
*Very Rev. Charles Merivale, D.C.L.	Ely, England	14 October, "
Hon. William Ashmead Courtenay	Charleston, S. C.	" " "
*Alexander Johnston, LL.D.	Princeton, N. J.	11 November, "
Rt. Rev. Mandell Creighton, LL.D.	Peterborough, England	13 January, 1887.
*Ernst Curtius	Berlin, Prussia	12 May, "
John Andrew Doyle, M.A.	Oxford, England	" " "
*William Cabell Rives, LL.B.	Richmond, Va.	10 November, "
Hon. Carl Schurz, LL.D.	New York, N. Y.	8 December, "
Abbé Henry Raymond Casgrain, Litt.D.	Quebec, Canada	12 February, 1891.
Alexander Brown, D.C.L.	Norwood P. O., Va.	12 March, "
*John Nicholas Brown, A.M.	Providence, R. I.	8 March, 1894.
Capt. Alfred Thayer Mahan, D.C.L.	Washington, D. C.	10 May, "
*Hon. Jacob Dolson Cox, LL.D.	Cincinnati, Ohio	8 November, "
Leslie Stephen, LL.D.	London, England	9 January, 1896.
Hon. James Burrill Angell, LL.D.	Ann Arbor, Mich.	13 February, "
William Babcock Weedon, A.M.	Providence, R. I.	12 November, "
Richard Garnett, LL.D.	London, England	10 December, "
George Park Fisher, LL.D.	New Haven, Conn.	14 January, 1897.
Woodrow Wilson, LL.D.	Princeton, N. J.	11 February, "
Joseph Williamson, Litt.D.	Belfast, Maine	11 March, "
Hon. Joseph Hodges Choate, LL.D.	New York, N. Y.	9 December, "
Frederic William Maitland, LL.D.	Cambridge, England	14 April, 1898.
John Franklin Jameson, LL.D.	Providence, R. I.	9 June, "
Rev. William Cunningham, LL.D.	Cambridge, England	11 May, 1899.
Hon. Simeon Eben Baldwin, LL.D.	New Haven, Conn.	8 March, 1900.
John Bassett Moore, Esq.	New York, N. Y.	10 May, "
Hon. John Hay, LL.D.	Washington, D. C.	14 June, "

OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY.

PRESIDENTS.

James Sullivan.....	1791-1806
Christopher Gore.....	1806-1818
John Davis.....	1818-1835
Thomas L. Winthrop.....	1835-1841
James Savage.....	1841-1855
Robert C. Winthrop.....	1855-1885
George E. Ellis.....	1885-1894
Charles Francis Adams.....	1895-

VICE-PRESIDENTS.¹

Jared Sparks.....	1857-1866
David Sears.....	1857-1862
Thomas Aspinwall.....	1862-1870
John C. Gray.....	1866-1869
Charles Francis Adams.....	1869-1881
Emory Washburn.....	1870-1877
George E. Ellis.....	1877-1885
Charles Deane.....	1881-1889
Francis Parkman.....	1885-1893
Charles Francis Adams.....	1890-1895
Justin Winsor.....	1894-1897
Samuel A. Green.....	1895-
T. Jefferson Coolidge.....	1898-

RECORDING SECRETARIES.

Thomas Wallcut.....	1791-1792
George Richards Minot.....	1792-1793
James Freeman.....	1793-1812
Joseph McKean.....	1812-1818
Charles Lowell.....	1818-1833
Gamaliel Bradford.....	1833-1835
Joseph Willard.....	1835-1857
Chandler Robbins.....	1857-1864
Charles Deane.....	1864-1877
Edmund Quincy.....	1877-1877
George Dexter.....	1878-1883
Edward J. Young.....	1883-

CORRESPONDING SECRETARIES.

Jeremy Belknap.....	1791-1798
John Eliot.....	1798-1813

Abiel Holmes.....	1813-1833
Charles Lowell.....	1833-1849
Alexander Young.....	1849-1854
William P. Lunt.....	1854-1857
Joseph Willard.....	1857-1864
Chandler Robbins.....	1864-1877
Charles Deane.....	1877-1881
Justin Winsor.....	1881-1894
William W. Goodwin.....	1894-1896
Henry W. Haynes.....	1896-

Corresponding Secretary, Pro Tempore.

Thaddeus M. Harris.....	1837-1840
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TREASURERS.

William Tudor.....	1791-1796
George Richards Minot.....	1796-1799
William Tudor.....	1799-1803
Josiah Quincy.....	1803-1820
James Savage.....	1820-1839
Nahum Mitchell.....	1839-1845
Peleg W. Chandler.....	1845-1847
Richard Frothingham.....	1847-1877
Charles C. Smith.....	1877-

LIBRARIANS.

John Eliot.....	1791-1793
George Richards Minot.....	1793-1795
John Eliot.....	1795-1798
John Thornton Kirkland.....	1798-1806
William Smith Shaw.....	1806-1808
Timothy Alden ²	1808-1809
Joseph McKean.....	1809-1812
Joseph Tilden.....	1812-1814
James Savage.....	1814-1818
Nathaniel G. Snelling.....	1818-1821
Elisha Clap.....	1821-1823
William Jenks.....	1823-1832
James Bowdoin.....	1832-1833
Joseph Willard.....	1833-1835
Nahum Mitchell.....	1835-1836
Joseph B. Felt.....	1836-1837

¹ The office of Vice-President was created in 1857.

² See Proceedings, vol. i. p. 221, note.

Thaddeus M. Harris.....1837-1842
 Joseph B. Felt.....1842-1855
 Samuel K. Lothrop.....1855-1861
 Nathaniel B. Shurtleff.....1861-1864
 Thomas C. Amory.....1864-1868
 Samuel A. Green.....1868-

Assistant Librarians.

John Thornton Kirkland.....1798-1798
 Thomas Wallcut.....1798-1799
 Thaddeus M. Harris.....1837-1837
 Lucius R. Paige.....1845-1846

CABINET-KEEPERS.

John Eliot.....1791-1793
 George Richards Minot.....1793-1794
 Samuel Turell.....1794-1808
 Timothy Alden¹.....1808-1809
 Joseph McKean.....1809-1810
 Redford Webster.....1810-1833
 Isaac P. Davis.....1834-1854
 Nathaniel B. Shurtleff.....1854-1860
 Samuel A. Green.....1860-1868
 Henry G. Denny.....1868-1874
 William S. Appleton.....1874-1880
 Fitch Edward Oliver.....1880-1892
 Samuel F. McCleary.....1893-1898
 Henry F. Jenks.....1898-

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

George Richards Minot.....1791-1793
 Peter Thacher.....1791-1798
 James Winthrop.....1791-1798
 Redford Webster.....1793-1810
 John Davis.....1798-1818
 Josiah Quincy.....1798-1803
 Peter Thacher.....1799-1802
 James Winthrop.....1799-1821
 William Tudor.....1803-1806
 William Emerson.....1803-1811
 John Thornton Kirkland.....1806-1812
 Thomas L. Winthrop.....1810-1835
 Abiel Holmes.....1811-1813
 James Freeman.....1812-1826
 John Pierce.....1813-1834
 James Savage.....1818-1820
 William Tudor.....1820-1824
 Francis C. Gray.....1821-1836
 Nathan Hale.....1824-1835
 James Bowdoin.....1826-1833
 Jared Sparks.....1833-1838
 James T. Austin.....1834-1838
 James Savage.....1835-1841
 Nathan Appleton.....1835-1835

Convers Francis.....1835-1852
 John Davis.....1836-1838
 Alexander Young.....1838-1852
 Joseph B. Felt.....1838-1839
 Samuel P. Gardner.....1838-1842
 George Ticknor.....1839-1852
 Joseph Willard.....1841-1852
 Francis C. Gray.....1842-1852
 Edward Everett.....1852-1853
 George E. Ellis.....1852-1853
 George Livermore.....1852-1854
 Nathaniel B. Shurtleff.....1852-1854
 Charles Deane.....1852-1856
 Robert C. Winthrop.....1853-1855
 George W. Blagden.....1853-1855
 Lucius R. Paige.....1854-1856
 Chandler Robbins.....1854-1857
 John C. Gray.....1855-1857
 William Brigham.....1855-1858
 Francis Parkman.....1856-1858
 George Livermore.....1856-1859
 Thomas Aspinwall.....1857-1859
 Emory Washburn.....1858-1860
 Lorenzo Sabine.....1858-1860
 Charles Deane.....1858-1861
 Solomon Lincoln.....1859-1861
 Henry Austin Whitney.....1859-1861
 Leverett Saltonstall.....1860-1862
 Thomas Aspinwall.....1860-1862
 Samuel K. Lothrop.....1861-1863
 Charles H. Warren.....1861-1862
 Robert C. Waterston.....1861-1863
 Emory Washburn.....1862-1864
 Thomas C. Amory.....1862-1864
 William G. Brooks.....1862-1865
 George E. Ellis.....1863-1866
 Horace Gray.....1863-1866
 Charles Eliot Norton.....1864-1865
 Leverett Saltonstall.....1864-1867
 Charles Folsom.....1865-1867
 Amos A. Lawrence.....1865-1867
 Henry Warren Torrey.....1866-1868
 Samuel Eliot.....1866-1868
 George E. Ellis.....1867-1868
 William C. Endicott.....1867-1869
 William G. Brooks.....1867-1870
 Charles C. Smith.....1868-1870
 George W. Blagden.....1868-1871
 James M. Robbins.....1869-1871
 Henry Warren Torrey.....1869-1871
 Theodore Lyman.....1870-1871
 Henry M. Dexter.....1870-1871
 Edmund Quincy.....1871-1873

¹ See Proceedings, vol. i. p. 221, note.

George S. Hillard 1871-1873
 George Punchard 1871-1872
 Robert C. Waterston 1871-1874
 William H. Whitmore 1871-1872
 Nathaniel B. Shurtleff 1872-1874
 Augustus T. Perkins 1872-1875
 Robert M. Mason 1873-1876
 William S. Appleton 1873-1874
 Francis W. Palfrey 1874-1876
 Edmund Quincy 1874-1877
 William G. Brooks 1875-1877
 Charles C. Smith 1875-1877
 Henry W. Foote 1876-1878
 George E. Ellis 1876-1877
 James Russell Lowell 1877-1878
 Charles C. Perkins 1877-1879
 Winslow Warren 1877-1880
 Richard Frothingham 1877-1879
 Charles W. Tuttle 1878-1880
 Leverett Saltonstall 1878-1881
 Justin Winsor 1879-1881
 Delano A. Goddard 1879-1882
 George B. Chase 1880-1882
 Henry Cabot Lodge 1880-1883
 Phillips Brooks 1881-1883
 Henry W. Haynes 1881-1884
 Charles Francis Adams, Jr. 1882-1885
 James Elliot Cabot 1882-1884
 John T. Morse, Jr. 1883-1884
 Clement Hugh Hill 1883-1885
 William W. Greenough 1884-1886
 Samuel C. Cobb 1884-1886
 Abbott Lawrence 1884-1887
 Abner C. Goodell, Jr. 1885-1887
 Mellen Chamberlain 1885-1888
 William Everett 1886-1888
 Robert C. Winthrop, Jr. 1886-1889

MEMBERS AT LARGE OF THE COUNCIL.

John Lowell 1887-1890
 John D. Washburn 1887-1889
 George S. Hale 1888-1890
 William W. Goodwin 1888-1891
 Josiah P. Quincy 1889-1891
 Roger Wolcott 1889-1892
 Edward Bangs 1890-1892
 Edward J. Lowell 1890-1893
 Edward G. Porter 1891-1893
 Henry F. Jenks 1891-1894
 Horace E. Scudder 1892-1894
 Solomon Lincoln 1892-1895
 Alexander McKenzie 1893-1895
 John D. Washburn 1893-1896
 Edmund F. Slafter 1894-1896

Arthur Lord 1894-1897
 Edward L. Pierce 1895-1897
 Stephen Salisbury 1895-1896
 Thornton K. Lothrop 1896-1898
 Abbott Lawrence Lowell 1896-1898
 Charles R. Codman 1896-1899
 William W. Crapo 1897-1899
 William R. Thayer 1897-1898
 Winslow Warren 1898-1900
 Barrett Wendell 1898-1900
 Morton Dexter 1898-
 George B. Chase 1899-
 James Schouler 1899-
 James F. Rhodes 1900-
 Thornton K. Lothrop 1900-

Additional Members.

George B. Chase 1898-1899
 James F. Rhodes 1899-1900
 James B. Thayer 1900-

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 George Richards Minot, I. 1, 4, 6.
 James Sullivan, I. 2.
 Peter Thacher, I. 2, 8.
 William Tudor, I. 2. II. 4, 7, 9.
 Redford Webster, I. 2. II. 1.
 William Wetmore, I. 3.
 Aaron Dexter, I. 3.
 Jedidiah Morse, I. 5, 7.
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 John Thornton Kirkland, I. 6, 9.
 Abiel Holmes, I. 7, 10. II. 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10.
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 Robert C. Winthrop, III. 9, 10. IV. 6, 7. V. 1.
 Alvan Lamson, III. 9.
 Charles Francis Adams, III. 9, 10. V. 4.
 Nathaniel L. Frothingham, III. 10.
 George Ticknor, IV. 1.
 Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, IV. 1, 2.
 George E. Ellis, IV. 2, 9, 10. V. 5, 6, 7.
 Chandler Robbins, IV. 2, 6, 7, 8. V. 1, 2, 3.
 Charles Deane, IV. 2, 3, 6, 7. V. 1, 2, 3, 9.
 William P. Lunt, IV. 3.
 Lucius R. Paige, IV. 3.
 Ellis Ames, IV. 3.
 Richard Frothingham, IV. 4. V. 4.
 Thomas Aspinwall, IV. 4, 9, 10.
 George Livermore, IV. 4.
 Lorenzo Sabine, IV. 4.
 Solomon Lincoln, IV. 5.
 Alonzo H. Quint, IV. 5.
 Williams Latham, IV. 5.
 Joseph Palmer, IV. 5.
 Henry W. Torrey, IV. 8. V. 5, 6, 7.
 Samuel K. Lothrop, IV. 8.
 William S. Bartlet, IV. 9, 10.
 John Langdon Sibley, IV. 9, 10.
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 8, 9, 10. VII. 1.
 William G. Brooks, V. 2, 3.
 Winslow Warren, V. 4, 10.
 William H. Whitmore, V. 5, 6, 7.
 James Russell Lowell, V. 5, 6, 7.
 George Dexter, V. 8.
 Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., V. 8. VI. 3, 5, 9.

Justin Winsor, V. 9.
 Arthur Lord, V. 9.
 George B. Chase, V. 10. VI. 10.
 Henry F. Jenks, V. 10. VI. 6, 7.
 Mellen Chamberlain, VI. 1, 2, 6, 7, 9.
 Clement Hugh Hill, VI. 1, 2.
 Arthur B. Ellis, VI. 1, 2.
 James M. Bugbee, VI. 1, 2.
 Edward Channing, VI. 3, 5.
 Josiah P. Quincy, VI. 4.
 Edward J. Young, VI. 4.
 Octavius B. Frothingham, VI. 4.
 Roger Wolcott, VI. 8.
 Samuel F. McCleary, VI. 8.
 A. Lawrence Lowell, VI. 8.
 Samuel A. Green, VI. 10.
 Edward G. Porter, VI. 10.
 T. Jefferson Coolidge, VII. 1.
 Archibald Cary Coolidge, VII. 1.

Proceedings 1791-1855.

Charles Deane.
 Charles C. Smith.

Proceedings since 1855.

George Livermore.....1855-1864
 Chandler Robbins 1855-1863
 Henry Austin Whitney 1860-1864
 Samuel K. Lothrop.....1862-1863
 Charles Deane 1863-1877
 William G. Brooks.....1863-1864
 Charles Folsom 1864-1867
 Samuel A. Green.....1864-1882
 Charles C. Smith 1867-1882
 Edmund Quincy.....1877-1877
 George Dexter 1878-1883
 Josiah P. Quincy.....1882-1883
 Horace E. Scudder 1882-1883
 Edward J. Young.....1883-
 Clement Hugh Hill 1883-1889
 Alexander McKenzie 1883-
 Charles C. Smith.....1889-

OFFICERS
OF THE
MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

ELECTED APRIL 12, 1900.

President.

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL.D. LINCOLN.

Vice-Presidents.

SAMUEL A. GREEN, LL.D. BOSTON.

THOMAS JEFFERSON COOLIDGE, A.M. BOSTON.

Recording Secretary.

EDWARD J. YOUNG, D.D. WALTHAM.

Corresponding Secretary.

HENRY W. HAYNES, A.M. BOSTON.

Treasurer.

CHARLES C. SMITH, A.M. BOSTON.

Librarian.

SAMUEL A. GREEN, LL.D. BOSTON.

Cabinet-Keeper.

HENRY F. JENKS, A.M. CANTON.

Members at Large of the Council.

MORTON DEXTER, A.M. BOSTON.

GEORGE B. CHASE, A.M. DEDHAM.

JAMES SCHOUER, LL.D. BOSTON.

JAMES F. RHODES, LL.D. BOSTON.

THORNTON K. LOTHROP, LL.B. BOSTON.

Additional Member of the Council.

JAMES B. THAYER, LL.D. CAMBRIDGE.

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RESIDENT MEMBERS,

AT THE DATE OF THE PRINTING OF THIS BOOK, IN THE ORDER OF
THEIR ELECTION.

1860. Hon. Samuel Abbott Green, LL.D. Charles Eliot Norton, D.C.L. 1861. Rev. Edward Everett Hale, D.D. Hon. Horace Gray, LL.D. 1865. Josiah Phillips Quincy, A.M. 1866. Henry Gardner Denny, A.M. 1867. Charles Card Smith, A.M. 1869. William Sumner Appleton, A.M. 1871. Abner Cheney Goodell, A.M. Edward Doubleday Harris, Esq. 1873. Winslow Warren, LL.B. Charles William Eliot, LL.D. 1875. Charles Francis Adams, LL.D. William Phineas Upham, A.B. 1876. Hon. William Everett, LL.D. George Bigelow Chase, A.M. Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge, LL.D. 1877. John Torrey Morse, Jr., A.B. James Elliot Cabot, LL.D. [xxviii]	1878. Gamaliel Bradford, A.B. Rev. Edward James Young, D.D. 1879. Robert Charles Winthrop, Jr., A.M. Henry Williamson Haynes, A.M. 1880. Thomas Wentworth Higginson, LL.D. 1881. Rev. Henry Fitch Jenks, A.M. Horace Elisha Scudder, Litt. D. Rev. Edmund Farwell Slafter, D.D. Hon. Stephen Salisbury, A.M. John Tyler Hassam, A.M. Rev. Alexander McKenzie, D.D. 1882. Arthur Lord, A.B. Arthur Blake Ellis, LL.B. Frederick Ward Putnam, A.M. James McKellar Bugbee, Esq. Hon. John Davis Washburn, LL.B. Rev. Egbert Coffin Smyth, D.D. 1883. Rev. Arthur Latham Perry, LL.D. 1884. Hon. John Elliot Sanford, LL.D. Uriel Haskell Crocker, LL.B. Hon. Roger Wolcott, LL.D. Edward Channing, Ph.D.
--	---

1886.

Samuel Foster McCleary, A.M.
 William Watson Goodwin, D.C.L.
 Hon. George Frisbie Hoar, LL.D.
 Rev. Alexander Viets Griswold
 Allen, D.D.

1887.

Charles Greely Loring, A.M.
 Solomon Lincoln, A.M.
 Edwin Pliny Seaver, A.M.

1889.

Albert Bushnell Hart, Ph.D.
 Thornton Kirkland Lothrop, LL.B.
 James Bradley Thayer, LL.D.
 Hon. Henry Stedman Nourse, A.M.

1890.

Henry Fitz-Gilbert Waters, A.M.
 Abbott Lawrence Lowell, LL.B.

1891.

Rev. Samuel Edward Herrick, D.D.
 Hon. Oliver Wendell Holmes, LL.D.
 Henry Pickering Walcott, M.D.

1892.

John Fiske, LL.D.
 George Spring Merriam, A.M.

1893.

Hon. Charles Russell Codman, LL.B.
 Barrett Wendell, A.B.
 James Ford Rhodes, LL.D.

1894.

Hon. Edward Francis Johnson, LL.B.
 Henry Walbridge Taft, A.M.
 Rt. Rev. William Lawrence, D.D.
 William Roscoe Thayer, A.M.

1895.

Rev. Morton Dexter, A.M.
 Hon. Thomas Jefferson Coolidge, A.M.
 Hon. William Wallace Crapo, LL.D.

1896.

Hon. Francis Cabot Lowell, A.B.
 Granville Stanley Hall, LL.D.
 Alexander Agassiz, LL.D.
 Hon. James Madison Barker, LL.D.
 Col. Theodore Ayrault Dodge.

1897.

Thomas Corwin Mendenhall, LL.D.
 Rev. Leverett Wilson Spring, D.D.
 Major William Roscoe Livermore.
 Hon. Richard Olney, LL.D.
 Lucien Carr, A.M.
 James Schouler, LL.D.

1898.

Hon. John Summerfield Brayton,
 LL.D.
 Rev. George Angier Gordon, D.D.
 John Chipman Gray, LL.D.
 Hon. George Harris Monroe.
 Rev. James De Normandie, D.D.
 Andrew McFarland Davis, A.M.

1899.

Archibald Cary Coolidge, Ph.D.
 John Noble, LL.B.
 Robert Noxon Toppan, LL.B.
 Charles Pickering Bowditch, A.M.
 Rev. Edward Henry Hall, A.B.

1900.

James Frothingham Hunnewell,
 A.M.
 Hon. David Henry Chamberlain,
 LL.D.
 Melville Madison Bigelow, LL.D.
 Rev. Elijah Winchester Donald,
 D.D.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

1871. David Masson, LL D. 1876. Rt. Rev. William Stubbs, D.D. Hon. William Maxwell Evarts, LL.D. 1880. Theodor Mommsen. 1882. Rt. Hon. William Edward Hartpole Lecky, LL.D.	1887. Hon. Carl Schurz, LL.D 1896. Samuel Rawson Gardiner, D.C.L. Rt. Hon. James Bryce, D.C.L. 1897. Rt. Rev. Mandell Creighton, D.D. 1899. Rt. Hon. Sir George Otto Trevelyan, Bart., D.C.L.
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CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

1864. Goldwin Smith, D.C.L. 1866. Joseph Jackson Howard, LL.D. 1870. Charles Jeremy Hoadly, LL.D. John Foster Kirk, LL.D. 1875. Hon. John Bigelow, LL.D. Henry Charles Lea, LL.D. Hubert Howe Bancroft, A.M. 1877. Gustave Vapereau. [xxx]	1878. John Austin Stevens, A.B. Joseph Florimond Loubat, LL.D. Charles Henry Hart, LL.B 1879. Rev. Moses Coit Tyler, LL.D. Hermann von Holst, Ph.D. Franklin Bowditch Dexter, A.M. John Marshall Brown, A.M. Hon. Andrew Dickson White, LL.D. George Washington Ranck, Esq. 1880. Sir James McPherson Le Moine. Henry Adams, LL.D. 1881. Rev. Henry Martyn Baird, D.D Hon. William Wirt Henry Vicomte d'Haussonville.
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CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

XXXI

1883. Rev. Charles Richmond Weld, LL.D. Herbert Baxter Adams, LL.D.	1896. Leslie Stephen, LL.D. Hon. James Burrill Angell, LL.D. William Babcock Weeden, A.M. Richard Garnett, LL.D.
1885. Hon. Jabez Lamar Monroe Curry, LL.D.	1897. Rev. George Park Fisher, D.D. Woodrow Wilson, LL.D. Joseph Williamson, Litt. D. Hon. Joseph Hodges Choate, LL.D.
1886. Hon. William Ashmead Courtenay.	1898. Frederic William Maitland, LL.D. John Franklin Jameson, LL.D.
1887. John Andrew Doyle, M.A.	1899. Rev. William Cunningham, LL.D.
1891. Abbé Henry Raymond Casgrain, Litt. D. Alexander Brown, D.C.L.	1900. Hon. Simeon E. Baldwin, LL.D. John Bassett Moore, Esq. Hon. John Hay, LL.D.
1894. Capt. Alfred Thayer Mahan, D.C.L.	

MEMBERS DECEASED.

Members who have died, or of whose death information has been received, since the last volume of Collections was issued, May 20, 1899, arranged in the order of their election, and with date of death.

Resident.

Rev. Edwards Amasa Park, LL.D.	June 4, 1900.
William Henry Whitmore, A.M.	June 14, 1900.
Hon. William Crowninshield Endicott, LL.D.	May 6, 1900.
Hon. Mellen Chamberlain, LL.D.	June 25, 1900.
Charles Franklin Dunbar, LL.D.	Jan. 29, 1900.
William Whitwell Greenough, A.B.	June 17, 1899.
Rev. Edward Griffin Porter, A.M.	Feb. 5, 1900.
John Codman Ropes, LL.D.	Oct. 28, 1899.
Hon. Walbridge Abner Field, LL.D.	July 15, 1899.
Augustus Lowell, A.M.	June 22, 1900.

Corresponding.

Rev. William Scott Southgate, D.D.	May 21, 1899.
Charles Janeway Stillé, LL.D.	Aug. 11, 1899.
Rev. Richard Salter Storrs, LL.D.	June 5, 1900.
Signor Cornelio Desimoni	June 29, 1899.
Amos Perry, LL.D.	Aug. 10, 1899.
John Nicholas Brown, A.M.	May 1, 1900.
Hon. Jacob Dolson Cox, LL.D.	Aug. 4, 1900.

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PREFACE.

LIKE many eminent men of his time, Thomas Jefferson was in the habit of preserving every scrap of writing which came into his hands, and of keeping copies of all of his own letters. Consequently he left at his death a very great mass of letters and papers of priceless value for biographical and historical purposes, together with many which would not now be thought worth preserving. Subsequently the whole collection was roughly divided into two parts, one comprising documents mainly relating to his public life, and the other letters and papers mainly connected with his private and personal relations. By an Act of Congress, approved April 12, 1848, the first portion was acquired by the United States, and is now deposited in the State Department at Washington. The second portion was presented to the Historical Society, in June, 1898, by Mr. Jefferson's great-grandson, Thomas Jefferson Coolidge; and it is from this latter portion of the Jefferson papers that the letters printed in this volume have been for the most part selected. Few of them are of a political character or deal with public affairs; but they very clearly illustrate many phases of Jefferson's character, and show the range and variety of his interests in his more private life.

The volume is almost equally divided between letters written by Jefferson himself and letters written to him

by personal or political friends. It is not surprising, but is worthy of note, that in the original separation of the papers letters were not always placed in the division to which they would seem naturally to have belonged, and that a letter and its answer were not always kept together. The letters to Jefferson are all original autographs: the letters from him are, with the exception of a few where the Committee have had access to the letters actually sent and of a few rough draughts, either copies made in the ordinary way by pressure on moistened paper or copies made by a polygraph, or stylograph, as Jefferson sometimes called it. This instrument produced a perfect facsimile, indistinguishable from the original letter, and as it is no longer in use, and is not described in any of the cyclopædias examined by the Committee, it may be of interest to quote a description of one of two actually used by Jefferson, which is now in the Rouss Laboratory of the University of Virginia. "The polygraph," writes Professor Francis H. Smith, of that institution, "is a very ingenious double writing-desk, with duplicate tables, pens, and inkstands. The pens are connected together at an invariable distance by a system of jointed parallelograms, with two fixed centres, such that the pens are always parallel. Whatever movement is impressed upon one is simultaneously by the connecting linkwork communicated to the other pen. Hence, if one traces on a sheet letters or figures, its companion traces at the same time identically the same forms on another sheet. The writer therefore produces two identical pages at the same time. He does it with sensibly no more fatigue than if he were using one pen only, for the weight of the pens and linkwork is supported by a strand of delicate spring wires from a silver arm extending from the frame of the box above, out of

the way of the writer. By this polygraph the copy may be made on paper and with ink of the same kind as the original."

Most of the letters are in excellent condition; but many of those which were copied by pressure on moistened paper are either wholly or in large part illegible, and a considerable number have been so mutilated by carelessness or accident as to render many portions of the letter unintelligible. Writing more than seventy years ago, when the first collected edition of Jefferson's Writings was passing through the press, his only surviving daughter described in an unpublished letter to her son-in-law, Joseph Coolidge, Jr., the condition of the manuscripts used in the preparation of that work. "The originals themselves are in many places so faded as to be almost entirely obliterated. For pages together the girls have to take advantage of the broad light of a noonday sun, frequently unable to read them but with the assistance of a looking-glass applied to the back, where alone the impression shows. A few lines will sometimes cost as many days. This is not the state of the *whole*, but a *very considerable* portion. . . . We are, the girls and myself, very closely employed from 5 to 8 hours a day with them, after which they go through a second examination by the editor, whose trouble is much lessened by our *pioneering* the way before him." Much the same condition of things exists with regard to the letters now in the possession of the Historical Society, though it is probable that there are fewer letters in this collection which were copied by pressure than there were in the volumes published by Jefferson's grandson.

It may be a matter of convenience to the reader of these letters to append a few dates connected with the more important incidents in Jefferson's life. He was

the elder son of Peter and Jane (Randolph) Jefferson, and was born at Shadwell, adjoining the estate afterward called Monticello, April 2, 1743, Old Style. In 1760 he entered William and Mary College, where he spent two years. After leaving college he studied law with George Wythe, and in 1767 was admitted to the bar. On the 1st of January, 1772, he was married to Martha Skelton, daughter of John Wayles, and widow of Bathurst Skelton. He took his seat in Congress for the first time June 21, 1775, and June 28, 1776, he reported to that body the Declaration of Independence, which he had draughted. In September of the same year he retired from Congress; and a few weeks later he became a member of the General Assembly of Virginia. He was almost immediately afterward elected one of a committee to make a general revision of the laws of Virginia, and in this capacity draughted the memorable act for Establishing Religious Freedom. From June, 1779, to June, 1781, he was Governor of Virginia. In September, 1782, his wife died, leaving three daughters, of whom only one survived her father. In May, 1784, after the close of the war with the mother country, he was appointed one of the plenipotentiaries for negotiating treaties with foreign nations, and the next five years were passed in Europe. In December, 1789, he accepted an appointment as Secretary of State under the Federal Constitution, which office he held for four years. From 1797 to 1801 he was Vice-President of the United States; and from 1801 to 1809 he was President. In February, 1819, he was chosen one of the first Board of Visitors of the University of Virginia, of which he has always been recognized as the founder; and down to his death he continued to be its most influential friend and supporter. He died on the 4th of July, 1826, only a few

hours before the death of John Adams. After his death a memorandum was found in a private drawer intimating a wish that in the inscription on his monument he should be described as "Author of the Declaration of American Independence, of the Statute of Virginia for Religious Freedom, and Father of the University of Virginia."

The portrait prefixed to this volume is a photogravure from an original painting by Gilbert Stuart, now owned by Thomas Jefferson Coolidge.

August 28, 1900.

THE JEFFERSON PAPERS.

THE JEFFERSON PAPERS.

JAMES OGILVIE* TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

LONDON, March 28th, 1770.

DEAR SIR, — I am disappointed hitherto in every attempt to get ordained. The Commissary wrote against me in these words. Col^o. Mercer saw the letter. "Mr. Ogilvie applied to me last spring for a recommendation to your Lordship for holy orders. For reasons which then existed I refused him. He has now applied to me a second time; as these reasons are not removed I have denied him again, but he goes home in opposition." Nothing could have been more artfully couched to do me a prejudice. The Bishop observed to Col^o. Mercer that had Mr. Horrocks † mentioned what his objections were, it would have left him to judge whether they were such as he might have overlooked or not, but that so general a charge laid my whole character open to censure so as to be out of my power to vindicate it. I have one chance still, but whether it will succeed or not I am uncertain.

* James Ogilvie was the son of a Presbyterian minister at Aberdeen. At a very early age he came over to Virginia, where he made many warm friends. In the autumn of 1769 he determined to go to London to obtain Episcopal ordination, and applied to the Commissary for a recommendatory letter. This was refused on the ground that he was "somewhat deficient in his Greek." Ogilvie, however, went to London, where he found that his application to the Bishop was in vain. Jefferson espoused his cause with great earnestness; and among the Jefferson Papers in the possession of the Historical Society are the original draughts of three letters on the subject, which are printed in Ford's edition of *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, vol. i. pp. 381, 383, 389. This James Ogilvie should not be confounded with another and much younger man of the same name, also a native of Aberdeen and a correspondent of Jefferson, who also spent many years on this side of the Atlantic, and published a volume of *Philosophical Essays*, which was reviewed by the late Edward T. Channing in *N. A. Review*, vol. iv. pp. 378-408. — EDS.

† Rev. James Horrocks, D.D., was the Commissary of the Bishop of London, and President of William and Mary College. — EDS.

I must therefore apply again for your freindly offices, as well as those of my other freinds in Virginia.

If by means of Mr. Blair you can get the Commissary to acquaint the Bishop that his objections were owing to my deficiency in the Greek, it will remove every obstacle. If he still refuses, will you be so obliging as, through Mr. Jones of Augusta, to procure a letter from L^d. Fairfax requesting my ordination. Could you likewise procure another certificate signed by as many gentlemen of fortune and credit as you can conveniently? Your freind Mr. Walker, and the Rev^d. Mr. White, will be both very active, I do not doubt. A letter from the Attorney Gen^l.* to Mr. Jennings here, or a letter from one or more of the Council to Mr. Abercromby, their agent in London, may be of special service. But, particularly, could Mr. Horrocks be prevailed with, it will make me easy. Perhaps an application from Col^o. Byrd and Mr. Balfour would have effect with him.

I have here prescribed you a severe trial of your freindship, but let my necessity plead an excuse. You are to judge what part of it you can best execute. The warmth with which you have already interested yourself in my favour encourages me to write in this stile, and I think I can venture to flatter myself that from your regard to Mr. Walker (for merit of my own with you, Sir, I can plead none), that you will not spare a little trouble to execute that on which the success of my future life depends. Shall I mention a happiness of a still dearer nature which is also dependant upon this?† But

* John Randolph, brother of Peyton Randolph, was Attorney-General at this time. On the breaking out of hostilities he espoused the side of the mother country, and went to England, where he died. See Sabine's *American Loyalists*, vol. ii. pp. 208, 209. — EDS.

† In a letter to Ogilvie, dated Monticello, Feb. 20, 1771, acknowledging the receipt of this letter, Jefferson writes: "Your Dulcinea is in health. Her brother, T. Strachan, is settled with J. Walker for life, — another inducement for her and you to wish for a residence with us. He is wishing to take to himself a wife; and nothing obstructs it but the unfeeling temper of a parent who delays, perhaps refuses, to approve her daughter's choice." — EDS.

should I enter on so tender a subject it will melt down my resolution, which is so necessary at present.

My life has been a continued scene of misfortune and disappointment. I am naturally endowed with keen passions, and in the early part of my life they took a byass which has softened and rendered them most sensible of every accident that has befallen me. Yet among the few lucky circumstances of my life I reckon those first which occasioned my acquaintance with M^r. Walker and yourself. In whatever situation my future life may be spent, though fortune may place me at a distance from you, I shall ever think of you with respect and affection, my warmest wishes will ever accompany you. I shall flatter myself that you are happy and successful, and, spite of misfortune, I shall find an hour to rejoice in that hope.

I have purchased a few of your commissions, the others I delayed till the measures of Parliament were known. My private circumstances have taken up so much room that I have not had an oppor^y. to insert any public news. We are in hopes the duties upon tea will be taken off before the end of the sessions. The disappointment in respect to my obtaining orders has not come alone. I am sorry to observe that the freinds I have mett with in Virg^a. have been more sincerely and warmly attached to me than many of my relations.

Adieu, my dear Sir. I will not detain your attention longer by attempting an apology for the length or matt[er] of this, but subscribe myself, with every affectionate desire for your prosperity,

Your much obliged and very obedient serv^t.

JA^s. OGILVIE.

A letter to Mr. Walker accompanies this. Direct for me att M^{rs}. Ballard's, Hungerford Street, in the Strand, London.

JAMES OGILVIE TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Thomas Jefferson, Esq^r., Albemarle County, Virginia.

MY DEAR SIR, — Though I have wrote you and Mr. Walker twice, yet I am at a loss to know whether any of my letters have come to hand or not, as I have never heard from Virginia but once since I left it, which was a letter dated last Nov^r., from my young freind at Belvidere. I have the pleasure, however, to inform you that I have got into Deacon's Orders, by the Bishop of Durham, independant of Horrocks, by means of a reccomendation from the Magistrates & Ministers of Aberdeen; but as I was ordained to a living in England & not America, I was obliged to accept a curacy in Berwick and to wait till next September before I can obtain the Order of Preist. This plan I pursued by the advice of the Archbishop of York, who has showed me great freindship, and who would have ordained me but that the B^p. of London had signified that, as he had refused me ordination, he expected he would not interfere. The Archbishop, however, saw Horrocks's letter, and told me had he been his Commissary he would have paid no regard to so general an accusation.

Though (as I have informed Mr. Walker) I might to great advantage settle in England, yet my heart & thoughts are all eagerly bent upon Virginia. The connections I formed in your colony were at that early time of life when the affections expand themselves with a sympathy too generous to admitt any selfish or interested views. I loved because I found an object every way qualified to yeild that happiness to which the gratifications of ambition appear as an empty dream. I have had that love most generously returned; every scheme, therefore, of life which I have ever planned has so enterwoven with it a communication of happiness to the person beloved, that I find myself unable to partake of

enjoyment in any other way. Allow me to add that the continuance of your freindship is more than a secondary inducement for my returning among you. Permit me, d^r. Sir, to flatter myself that M^r. Walker & you will still preserve whatever share of esteem & regard you supposed my merit might draw from you while I was with you. Enclosed you have the Bristol & London prices of Masonry, a copy of which I sent you before. You are perhaps surprised at my not answering your commissions before now, but my continually expecting to see America myself prevented me, and the remoteness of Berwick from any place of trade w^h Virg^a. makes my opportunities of even writing but seldom. As I cannot take shipping at any rate before October, I shall esteem it as a particular mark of freindship if you'll favour me with a line either by London or Glasgow, under cover to my F^r. at Aberdeen. My very respectful comp^{ts}. wait upon your mother.

I am, with much esteem, dear Sir,

Your much obliged & very affect^d servant,

JA^s. OGILVIE.

BERWICK UPON TWEED, April 26th, 1771.

RICHARD HENRY LEE* TO ROBERT CARTER NICHOLAS.†

Robert Carter Nicholas, Esq^r, Treasurer of Virginia, at Williamsburg. Free R. H. Lee.

PHILADELPHIA, 30th April, 1776.

DEAR SIR, — I thank you for your kind favor by last post, and I am well pleased to hear that Gen. Lee is

* Richard Henry Lee, one of the most conspicuous statesmen of the Revolutionary period, was born in Stratford, Va., Jan. 20, 1732, and died in Chantilly, June 19, 1794. See *Life and Correspondence of Richard Henry Lee*, by his Grandson; Appleton's Cyclopædia of American Biography, vol. iii. pp. 664, 665. — Eds.

† Robert Carter Nicholas was born in Virginia in 1715, and died there in 1780. At this time he was Treasurer of the Colony. (See Appleton's Cyclopædia of American Biography, vol. iv. p. 511.) This letter no doubt came into the possession of Jefferson through his intimate connection with Gov. Wilson Cary Nicholas, one of the sons of Robert C. Nicholas. — Eds.

exerting himself for the security of our country.* His military talents are considerable, and his zeal in the American cause equal to his martial accomplishments. His plan for securing our rivers with armed boats from piratical ravage is very wise, and I hope it will meet the countenance and support of our Convention.† The manner of making common salt, as practised in France, and well described in a pamphlet we sent the Committee of Safety, seems to deserve the most serious attention of the public. Our water is more salt & our sun hotter than in France, nor are they much less subject to rains, but from this interruption we need not fear much inconvenience, where the evaporation from the sun's heat is so great as in Virginia. I really think that revenue as well as supply of the commodity may be obtained from public works of this kind.‡ Saltpetre too, is an object of great consequence, but I incline to believe that bounties to encourage the making this in private families will more certainly produce it in large quantities than any other plan. We are told that Massachusetts Government alone will in this way furnish 100 tons by midsummer. But, Sir, do you not see the indispensable necessity of establishing a government this Convention? How long popular commotions may be suppressed without it, and anarchy be prevented, deserves intense consideration. A wise and free government may now be formed, and the sensible advantages soon derived from it will, added to the magistrates' authority, effectually prevent the numerous evils to be apprehended from popular rage & licence whenever they find the bonds of government removed, as is certainly the case, by the last wicked Act of Parliament. We cannot be in rebellion, and without the King's protection, and magis-

* Gen. Charles Lee was then at Williamsburg, in Virginia, in command of the Southern Department. — Eds.

† See *Life and Correspondence of Richard H. Lee*, vol. ii. p. 217. — Eds.

‡ For some account of the scarcity of salt during the Revolution, see *Proceedings*, vol. xv. pp. 221-227. — Eds.

trates acting under his authority at the same time. Would not the President act as Governor, if chosen by the Convention? I sent you a small pamphlet by Squire Lee, written here by a very sensible gentleman, on the subject of government. His plan, with some variations, would, in fact, be nearly the form we have been used to.

Our enemies are at this time holding a treaty with the Indians at Detroit, and propose another at Niagara the 1st of May, to persuade these savages to join them in the war against us. This mischief will forever attend us whilst one of the forts are suffered to remain in possession of the enemy in that country. However, I expect an expedition will soon be sett on foot that will effectually oust them. Gen. Howe is certainly gone to Hallifax to refresh his dispirited, fugitive army, but his distress there must be considerable, as the climate is bad, and the scarcity of provision considerable. We conclude here that Quebec and Hudson's River will be their great objects this campaign, and we are preparing to give them a proper reception both in Canada and New York. I think L^d. Germain's intercepted letter shews us pretty clearly that the 7 regiments under Cornwallis are all that are intended for the Southern Colonies this year, and their insufficiency is very apparent. But this is one good consequence arising from L^d. Dunmore's vain boasting of his own prowess, and what he could do in Virg^a. with a few troops. He has led his friends into another scrape. We have sent 8 galleys & 2 ships of war down after the Roebuck as she is reported to be on shore near the Capes of Delaware. Should this prove true, it will be a fine acquisition.

Col^o. Harrison told me you desired the account of each Delegate to be sent you. I have accordingly inclosed you mine. The general account of the disposition of the money obtained from the bills you have sent here will likewise be transmitted. I had, in my last account, sent

you when in Virg^a., stated our allowance at half a joe p^r day, because I was informed that was the sense of Convention. But since the ordinance mentions forty-five shillings we must abide the loss. The Congress has sent 250,000 dollars to the paymaster in Virg^a. & 50,000 to the Committee of Safety to get changed for specie to support the troops in Canada. From this quantity of Continental money in Virginia you will have no difficulty hereafter I suppose, Sir, [in] procuring as much as will pay our wages.

[Your] goodness will, I am sure, pardon the length [of] this letter.

I am, dear Sir, your affec[tionate] and obedient servant.

RICHARD HENRY LEE.

Mr. Ro. Morris purchased the bills you sent by me and the exchange was 77½.

LUCY NELSON * TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

To Thomas Jefferson, Esq^r, in Williamsburg.

OCTOBER the 13, 1777.

DEAR SIR, — I take the liberty of troubling you upon a subject of very great consequence to myself, & which I have very much at heart. Mr Nelson very early shewed his inclination to defend his country by entering into the service in the 7th Regiment as a Major, in which capacity he acquitted himself to the satisfaction of every body. He is since advanced to be L^t. Colonel in that regiment, where he distinguished himself in the late battle with the enemy. As he has a family who very much want his presence, he is desirous of the command of the last battalion of Artil-

* Daughter of Col. Philip Grymes, of Middlesex County, Va., and wife of Thomas Nelson, Jr. (born at Yorktown, Dec. 26, 1738, and died in Hanover County, Jan. 4, 1789), one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. See Appleton's Cyclopædia of American Biography, vol. iv. pp. 491, 492. — Eds.

lery, which is to be disposed by the Assembly at their next meeting ; not that his ardour is in the least abated, but he thinks he can serve his country as effectually here, & attend to his own affairs which suffer much by his absence. You know my situation, with three young children, must make me anxious for his success on this occasion ; & as you have a good deal of influence in the House, you will oblige me exceedingly by giving him your interest. I am, Sir, your hble servant,

LUCY NELSON.

THOMAS JEFFERSON* TO LUCY NELSON.

OCT. 24, 1777, W^{MS}.BGH.

D^R. MADAM, — Col^o Nelson's merit & his present command place him in my judgm't without a competitor, for the post to which you wish him appointed. It is a great happiness to me, therefore, that, while I pursue the dictates of my own judgment, I am at the same time subservient to your wishes. One truth only it behoves me to warn you of, that you may not be deceived by over-rating any one's assistance. No man, my dear madam, who acts above board has influence in any appointments here, beyond the weight of his own vote. If this appointment should be obtained for Col^o Nelson, it will be by the mere force of his personal merit. In thus undeceiving you, however, I do violence to my own gratification, as this error alone has produced to me the happiness of a letter from you.

Fortune seems to have drawn a line of separation between us. Though often in the same neighborhood some unlucky star has still shuffled us asunder. When I count backwards the years since I had last the happiness of seeing you in this place, & recur to my own lively memory

* This letter is printed from Jefferson's original draught indorsed on the reverse page of Mrs. Nelson's letter. — Eps.

of our friendship, I am almost induced to discredit my arithmetic. The affection I still retain for a family with whom I once lived in so much intimacy & confidence recalls to my mind often & often the most pleasing reflections. That heaven may shield the breast in which your happiness is embarked & administer to you every comfort of this life is the prayer of

Your sincere & affectionate friend.

SAMUEL HENLEY* TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

The Honourable Tho^s Jefferson, Ambassador from the United States of America to the Court of France.

MY DEAR SIR, — I was much mortified to find that you had been in England some time before I knew it, and was gone from hence at the instant I was projecting a journey to pay my respects to you.

Give me leave to congratulate you on your being appointed Ambassador to the Court of France; a circumstance no less honourable to your country than yourself. I shall be happy to know that M^{rs}. Jefferson and your family are well, and should rejoice beyond measure to see you. The gentleman who will deliver this letter is a friend of mine, and a fellow of Benet College in the University of Cambridge. You will find him an amiable man, and capable of gratifying your curiosity in a thou-

* Rev. Samuel Henley, D.D., was born in England in 1740, and died there Dec. 29, 1815. While a young man he came to America, and was Professor of Moral Philosophy in William and Mary College, Virginia, from 1770 to 1775. On the breaking out of the war he returned to England, and was made an assistant master at Harrow School. In 1778 he was elected a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries; and four years later he was presented to the living of Rendlesham. He made the first English translation of Beckford's "Vathek" from the original French, was a frequent contributor to the Monthly Magazine, and published several sermons and other productions, besides carrying on an extensive literary correspondence. Many years ago a large portion of his correspondence came into the possession of the Hon. Mellen Chamberlain, and extracts from it were printed in the Proceedings of this Society. Among them is a letter from Jefferson to Henley, dated Paris, March 3, 1785, relating to the books left by the latter in America. See Proceedings, vol. xv. pp. 230-241; Dictionary of National Biography, vol. xxv. p. 420. — Eds.

sand particulars. If you could spare the time to inform me of any of our old friends across the Atlantic, the state of the college at Williamsburgh, the fate of my books, &c., he will take the charge of what you might be disposed to communicate. Should there be anything in England you could wish to know from me, I should be happy to satisfy your inquiries.

Different as our situations are from what they once were, I shall ever look back with sincere pleasure on the friendship with which you honoured me, and shall always be proud to subscribe myself,

Most sincerely yours,

S. HENLEY.

RENDLESHAM, near Melton & Ipswich in Suffolk,
July 18, 1785.

SAMUEL HENLEY TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

To His Excellency, T. Jefferson, Ambassador from the American States to the Court of France. Cul de Sac Taitbout, à Paris.

RENDLESHAM, near Melton & Ipswich, 15 Sep^r. 1785.

DEAR SIR, — I was happy to be informed by my friend Bradford that you were well, and have a thousand acknowledgments to make for your attentions to him, which he speaks of to me in the handsomest manner. I trust, however, that you will not repent of them, though they have encouraged me to introduce two other friends from this side the water. You have, I doubt not, read the poems of M^{rs}. Barbauld (late Miss Aiken), and perhaps her other works. To say of her that she is the first poetess that hath adorned the literature of England is but intimating the least part of her desert. No heart can possess more worth. Her husband has a most ungracious outside, but you will find him the [re]verse within.

I am sorry to learn the fate of my books, prints, &c., & exceedingly regret that no more of them fell into your

hands. The pleasure I once took in them made me feel the more pain for their loss, which, however, is in some measure alleviated by the consideration that some of them escaped the flames & are in the possession of a friend I so much respect.

Will you have the goodness to present my best compliments to M^{rs} Jefferson if she be with you, or when you write to her? * M^{rs} Henley would be very happy to receive her in England, as I trust you are convinced would, dear Sir,

Your most obliged and obedient servant,

S. HENLEY.

SAMUEL HENLEY TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

His Excellency, the Honourable Thomas Jefferson, Ambassador from the United States of America to the Court of France. Cul de Sac Taibout, à Paris.

RENDLESHAM, Nov^r. 16, 1785.

MY DEAR SIR, — I was favoured, in the beginning of this month, with your two obliging letters, and have to return you a thousand acknowledgments for the sentiments of regard they contain, which neither length of time, change of situation, nor the convulsions which have torn asunder the bonds that once held our united countries, appear in the least to have altered.

Remotely as I am situated from publick life, the notices you have so kindly given me of some of our friends concerning whom I have been unable to learn anything so long were particularly grateful; but the brevity with which you mention your own family hath cast a shade

* Mrs. Jefferson died Sept. 6, 1782, almost exactly three years before the date of this letter. Jefferson's eldest daughter, Martha, went with him to Europe. His other two children, both daughters, were left in Virginia with their maternal aunt, Mrs. Francis Eppes. The youngest daughter died in the autumn of 1784. The second daughter, Mary, or Maria, as she was commonly called, was sent abroad in the spring or summer of 1787, to be with her father. — EDS.

over my imagination, and lead me to suspect what, I hope, after all, may not have happened. It was with infinite regret that I heard you had been in this kingdom. I trust it will not be the last time, as well as the first, of your visiting it. I should be inexpressibly happy to see you in this habitation, the precincts of which, I think, would be the more pleasant to you as bearing no inconsiderable resemblance to Virginia. M^{rs} Henley would be happy to receive your daughter, & pay her every instance of attention. Is it not possible that you may make an excursion to England thro' Flanders & Holland? If so, you will land near us, & shall find me at the water's edge to receive you.

The alterations made in the college at Williamsburg I much approve, and am happy to hear of its flourishing state. It is with pleasure I reflect, notwithstanding the inconveniences I have experienced from my connexion with it, that I was the first person who endeavoured to place the mode of education in it upon its proper basis; nor (must I confess) would the only mark of favour the college could confer, I mean the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws, be unacceptable to me on this account. Sorry as I was to find that the books & prints which I had collected with such care & pleasure were devoted to the flames, it was no small diminution of my concern to find that some of them were in your hands. I am perfectly satisfied with the value set upon them and in conformity with your request have directed a friend to draw upon you on my account for the sum mentioned. His name is Johnson; his draft will be dated the 18th or thereabout, payable at a month.

Have you any commissions that I can execute in England? I shall be happy to obey you. Literary intelligence I will readily communicate to you, or procure you books if you can point out a conveyance. M^r. Gwatkin I have not seen for some years; his situation is not alto-

gether so pleasant as I could wish, but hope it will one day be better.

I had lately a letter from M^r Bradford, who is now at Cambridge. He mentions in the warmest terms your politeness, for which I sincerely thank you, both on his acc^t. & my own.

With the truest esteem, I am, my dear Sir,
Your most obliged & obedient serv^t.,

S. HENLEY.

SAMUEL HENLEY TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

To His Excellency, the Hon^{ble} T. Jefferson, Ambassador from the American States to the Court of France. Cul de Sac Taitbout, Paris.

RENDLESHAM, near Melton & Ipswich,
18 March, 1786.

DEAR SIR, — I have delayed my acknowledgment of your last favour from the hope of being able to accompany my answer with a little publication which I flattered myself would by this time have escaped from the press. But tho' I am disappointed at present, I am not without hope of another opportunity more favourable, ere long, to my purpose. I have not only to thank you for your attention to the draft, but also for the information your letter contained, which actually acquainted me with more facts than I have been otherwise able to collect in my ten years' absence from Virginia. What changes in so short a time! Allow me to say there are none of them for which I more sensibly feel, than for those which respect yourself. There are wounds which tho' time closes, it does not obliterate the scars of. These we both of us have felt, and shall always remember.

You sensibly reflect on the mispense and enjoyment of life; but, alas, how little do they differ! Every day brings its cares to a reflecting mind, and I know not whether the bustle of life has not the advantage in point

of enjoyment, because it sweeps off the cares before they have time to sink deep. But a truce to reflexions! Let us make the best of the present, as the past is irrecoverably gone & the future may never be ours.

I flatter myself with the hope that I may one day be favoured with your company. If books, quiet, & a country that resembles your own can afford any solace, these I can promise you. M^{rs} Henley desires me to present her compliments & add that she will do her best to make our retreat as tolerable to Miss Jefferson as she can.

You will pardon the haste in which I write, but the gentleman who delivers you this (M^r Kilderbee, the clergyman of the next parish to mine) being to set off a day earlier than I thought for, has obliged me to write in a hurry. I must take time, however, to add that I am with the sincerest regards, dear Sir, your most affectionate friend and obliged serv^t,

S. HENLEY.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO WILLIAM S. SMITH.*

PARIS, July 9, 1786.

DEAR SIR, — I wrote you last on the 16th of June. Since that your favors of May 21, 21 & June 12 have come to hand. The accounts of the K. of Prussia are such that we may expect his exit soon.† He is like the snuff of a candle, — sometimes seeming to be out, then blazing up

* Col. William Stephens Smith was born in New York City in 1755, and graduated at Princeton College in 1774. He served with distinction during the Revolutionary War; and on the opening of diplomatic relations was appointed first Secretary of Legation to the Court of Great Britain. He accompanied John Adams to London, and July 12, 1786, he was married by the Bishop of St. Asaph to Abigail, Mr. Adams's oldest child and only surviving daughter. After his return to America he held various civil appointments, and served one term in Congress. He died at Lebanon, N. Y., June 10, 1816. (See *Journal and Correspondence of Miss Adams, Daughter of John Adams*, pp. 99-117; *Appleton's Cyclopædia of American Biography*, vol. v. p. 596; *Lanman's Biographical Annals*, p. 395.) The letter here given is printed from the original manuscript in the large and valuable collection of autograph letters given to the Historical Society by Mr. and Mrs. A. C. Washburn. — EDS.

† Frederick the Great died at Potsdam August 17, 1786, a little more than a month after the date of this letter. — EDS.

again for a moment. It is thought here that his death will not be followed by any immediate disturbance of the public tranquillity; that his kingdom may be considered as a machine which will go of itself a considerable time with the winding up he has given it. Besides this he has for some time employed his successor in his councils, who is endeavoring to possess himself of & to pursue his uncle's plan of policy.*

The connection which has long subsisted between the Van Staphorsts, the Grands, & this court is known to you. I think it probable that private solicitations first suggested the late appointment & might be the real efficient cause of it. The ostensible one, & which has some reality too, is the accomodation of the lenders in Holland. It will doubtless facilitate the borrowing money there for this country, and multiply the partisans of the new alliance. The policy of this country is indeed wise. What would have been said a dozen years ago had any one pretended to foretell that in that short space of time France would get Holland, America, & even England under her wing?

We have had here some strong altercations between the court & the parliament of Bourdeaux. The latter used a language which a British parliament would not have dared to use. The court was in the wrong, and will have the wisdom & moderation to recede. The question is, Whether lands, called Alluvions, on the river Garonne, belong to the king or to the proprietors to whose soil they have been added.

I have received by D^r Bancroft the portable copying-press; it is perfectly well made. Be so good as to present my compliments & thanks to M^r. Cavallo for his attention to it. To yourself I suppose you would rather I should present the money. This I will do the moment you will

* Frederick William II., nephew and successor of Frederick the Great, was born September 25, 1744, and died December 16, 1797. — EDS.

inform me of the sum. In your letter of May 21, you mention that you had paid the maker £5-10, but a former letter gave me reason to believe you had to pay something to another person for a board, or the box, or something else. I will beg the favor of you at the same time to inform me what a pair of chariot harness will cost in London, plated, not foppish but genteel, & I will add the price, or not add it to the bill I shall send you, according as I shall find it when compared with prices here. Cannot you invent some commissions for me here, by way of reprisal for the vexations I give you? Silk stockings, gilets, &c., for yourself, gewgaws & other contrivances for Madame? A propos, all hail, Madame! may your nights & days be many & full of joy! May their fruits be such as to make you feel the sweet union of parent & lover, but not so many as that you may feel their weight! May they be handsome and good as their mother, wise & honest as their father, but more milky! For your old age I will compose a prayer thirty years hence.

To return to business (for I am never tempted to pray but when a warm feeling for my friends comes athwart my heart). They tell me that they are about altering Dr Ramsay's book in London in order to accomodate it to the English palate & pride.* I hope this will not be done without the consent of the author, & I do not believe that will be obtained. If the booksellers of London are afraid to sell it, I think it can be sold here. Even the English themselves will apply for it here. It is very much esteemed by those who have read it. The French translation will be out in a short time. There is no gutting in that. All Europe will read the English transactions in America, as they really happened. To what purpose then

* The reference is to David Ramsay's "History of the Revolution of South Carolina from a British Province to an Independent State," published at Trenton in 1785. A French translation was published in 1787; and an English edition in 1788. See Allibone's Dictionary of Authors, vol. iii. p. 1734. — Eds.

hoodwink themselves? Like the foolish ostrich who, when it has hid its head, thinks its body cannot be seen. I will beg the favor of you to prevail on Mr. Dilly* to send me 50 copies by the diligence. We shall see by the sale of these what further number we may call for. I will undertake to justify this to the author. They must come unbound. It will be necessary at the same time to put into some of the English papers the following advertisement.

“The bookseller to whom Dr Ramsay’s history of the revolution of S. Carolina was addressed for sale, having been advised that the executing that commission would expose him to the actions of certain persons whose conduct in America, as therein represented, is not in their favor, the public are hereby notified that they may be furnished with the said work either in the original English, or well translated into French, by writing to Froullé, libraire au quai des Augustins à Paris, & franking their letters. An opportunity of sending it to London occurs every week by the diligence.” Send me a paper or two with this advertisement in it.

To put an end to your trouble I will wish you a good night, — I beg your pardon. I had forgot that you would have it without my wishes. I bid you therefore a simple adieu, with assurances of my friendship & esteem.

TH : JEFFERSON.

Col^o SMITH.

Indorsed by William S. Smith, “Paris July 9th 1786. Tho^s Jefferson — as^t 18th.”

* Charles Dilly, a well-known London bookseller, was born May 22, 1739, and died May 4, 1807. Among the books published by him were Boswell’s *Corsica*, *Tour to the Hebrides*, and *Life of Johnson*, and Lord Chesterfield’s *Miscellaneous Works*. He and an elder brother, Edward, had an extensive trade with America. See *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. xv. pp. 91, 92. — Eds.

WILLIAM S. SMITH* TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

LONDON, July 18th, 1786.

DEAR SIR, — Agreeable to your request I have been to Woodmason's, as I informed you in my last; he was to have sent the press to M^r. Garvey at Rouen,† and in addition to the mode of obtaining payment suggested by you I have told him if it would be more convenient I would pay his bill immediately after you had acknowledged the receipt of the press. This seemed to suit him best. The letters which you requested M^r. Appleton to leave with me are all forwarded to America, agreeable to your wish which was expressed in a note accompanying them, & some are probably there by this time. I called at N^o. 20 Charles Street and delivered the letters separately agreeable to their address; the gentleman has put off every idea of his voyage untill the spring; what will be the consequence I cannot pretend to say. I fear the worst; but I can see no end to be answered by advising him, for he will ultimately follow his own opinions. The same thing which prevents him from going to America I suppose will keep him from visiting Paris, viz. : want of confidence in the prudence of his family during his absence. This is what no arguments will remove; it is rivited on his mind and sways his conduct.

I find you can be furnish'd with a sett of harness such as you discribe, neat & simple, for 15 guineas; one ornamented with studs from 18 guineas to 20 pounds, & so on to 40. If either of the extremes or any grade between them should suit you, a line will accomplish what you

* The indorsement on Jefferson's letter of July 9, shows that this letter was written in answer to that letter. Among the Jefferson Papers in the possession of this Society are numerous letters written by William S. Smith, showing the intimate relations subsisting between Jefferson and the writer; but they have not been thought to be of sufficient importance to be printed in this volume. — Eds.

† Robert and Anthony Garvey were commission merchants at Rouen, and frequent business correspondents of Mr. Jefferson. — Eds.

wish. I have visited Mr. Dilley; his foreman promises to send the 50 copies as you wish, after which the paragraph shall enter the paper; to publish first would frighten him, & he would not send the books.

I am much obliged for your observations on the appointment lately made in Holland, & for the intelligence you give relative to the King of Prussia. His conduct relative to his successor merits applause, and considering the distance at which he has always kept him, and the suspicions respecting him, which appear'd in a strict attention to his movements, &c., it appears as one of those great lines of character which has marked his reign,—that at this period of his life, conscious of an approaching dissolution, he can calmly call into his council a person to whom in a short time he must, according to the course of nature, surrender his Empire & who hitherto he has kept at the most awfull distance. It is the first instance I have ever heard of, of a tyrant, at the close of life, moving with seeming composure down the stream, and in his last stage making arrangements for the happiness (at least of what remains) of his people, and, by instructing personally his successor, endeavour to furnish him with the ability of preserving the peace and tranquility of his Kingdom. It may, & I do not doubt it will, operate as you expect, as it relates to internal tranquility, but how will it affect his neighbours? The candidate for the crown is not respected; he is considered a weak prince, involved in debauchery, and has never displayed the least mark of a great character under these lines. May it not be expected that some exertions will be made for the recovery of fame and territory which the enterprising spirit of Frederick, in the course of his reign, has deprived them of; will not the Emperor endeavour to elivate himself on his tomb? But I will cease to plague you with questions.

I have the pleasure to inform you that by advices from

New York, I am informed they have had another election, and Colonels Hamilton and Varrick * are of the Assembly. This looks well, it indicates a change of measures in that State, which must prove beneficial, for they are men of understanding, of liberal minds, have the honour of their country in view, and are friends to foederal measures. They hold the articles of a national treaty paramount to the particular laws of a State, and are disposed to press a compliance with national obligations as necessary to justice and the establishment of a respectability of character.

Your prayers and good wishes have added to my obligations, and as you are never tempted to pray but when a warm feeling for your friends comes athwart your heart, your prayer on this occasion comes with such an additional weight that I know not how to answer them, but by connecting them with the circumstance which gave rise to them. I devoutly say, — *for what we have received may the Lord make us truly thankful. Amen.*

Mrs. Smith desires her respectfull compliments, and begs me to inclose a small list of articles which she would be obliged if you would permit Petit † to purchase for her.

I enclose a small peice taken from a New York paper descriptive of an animal found on the Ohio ; it is novel & will give a subject of speculation ; it is singular that he should have remained so long unknown.

Col^o. Humphreys's arrival is also announced in another, and as I have tormented M^r. Mazzie with a very long letter on the Abbé Reynald, & an account of the Battle of Long Island, I take the liberty of enclosing for him an account of that action taken from the British Annual Register, which is pretty good.

* Alexander Hamilton and Richard Varick were two of the members elected from New York. The latter became Speaker of the Assembly. — Eds.

† Jefferson's servant. He came to America with his employer. — Eds.

With compliments to the Marquis & his lady and
Mad^{me}. De Tesse, & if I may, to the fair Grecian, I am,
d^r. Sir,

Your obliged humble serv^t.,

W. S. SMITH.

His Excellency THOS. JEFFERSON.

SAMUEL J. NEELE * TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

His Excellency Thomas Jefferson, Esq^r.

SIR, — Agreeable to Col. Smith's order I now send you the plate of the Map of Virginia, &c., with the original maps, drawing, & a proof. As there is in it a very great number of words, you will, I naturally suppose, upon inspecting it critically, find some corrections necessary; I could have wished to have inserted them myself, but as your receipt of the plate renders that impracticable, they must consequently be done by one of the map engravers at Paris.

The drawing was unfortunately made on a paper much too soft, so that (after it was rubbed down on the wax prepared on the plate to receive its impression previous to tracing), in taking it off, some parts of its surface tore away & remained on the wax, & of course obliterated the drawing in those parts.

In consequence of this accident, you will find in the body of the map two names unfinished & a few on the coast to the eastward of Delaware Bay, all of which, as well as every other necessary correction may be made in a few hours. Col. Smith has expressed his approbation of the engraving; I therefore flatter myself it will likewise meet with yours & be a means of securing your future

* Born in 1758; died in 1821. He was an engraver, and was principally engaged on antiquarian work and maps. He engraved the large and well executed map of Virginia and the Middle States in Jefferson's Notes on Virginia. See Bryan's Dictionary of Painters and Engravers (ed. Armstrong and Graves), vol. ii. p. 203. — Eds.

favours, which will add to the obligation already conferred
on, Sir, Yours (with much respect),

S. J. NEELE.

LONDON, N^o: 352 STRAND, Dec^r. 21st. 1786.

JOHN STOCKDALE * TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

SIR, — I duly rec^d your favours of Jan^y. 28th. & Feb^y.
y^e 1st, & have sent the articles agreeable to your order by
this night's coach, which I hope you'll receive in time. I
sent part of the books to America a long time since by
the gentⁿ. you desir'd, but have not been able to get the
remainder. I shall be happy to receive your corrected
copy, which shall be neatly & correctly printed & pub-
lished, according to your desire, without one title of
alteration, tho' I know there is some bitter pills relative
to our country; as I shall not be above three weeks in
printing the work, it may not be amiss to send the plate
at the same time, as they will take some time to work;
I think a shilling for the use of the plate, for working
each copy, a very great price, & I am afraid much higher
than the work will bear; but this I leave entirely to your
consideration. I intend to print 500 copies, which from
the merit of the work & the advantage of your name, I
hope will be sold, but all things are uncertain; in short,
all that I wish is to be the publisher of your work & to
be indemnified, without paying any regard to the profit.
I am with great respect, Sir,

Your much oblig'd & very h^{ble} Serv^t.,

JOHN STOCKDALE.

PICCADILLY, LONDON. 13th Feb^y. 1787.

* John Stockdale, an eminent London publisher, was born about 1749, and died June 21, 1814. He issued many important works, among others the *Debates in Parliament*, 1784–1790. He published the first English edition of the *Notes on Virginia*, — a few copies having been previously printed for private distribution, as well as a French translation, “with such alterations as the laws of the press in that country rendered necessary.” In 1789 he was the successful defendant in a famous libel suit growing out of the impeachment of Warren Hastings, which led in 1792 to the passing of Fox's Libel Act. See *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. liv. pp. 389, 390. — Eds.

JOHN STOCKDALE TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

PICCADILLY, LONDON, 10th July, 1787.

SIR, — I received your favor of July the 1st together with the plate, safe, by your messenger; it has been a great disappointment to me, not receiving it at the time promised; and I am afraid a detriment to the sale of the book, London now being nearly empty of book buyers, & I am sorry to inform you that the plate is so much wore that the impressions which I want will not be quite leidgerble; by the appearance of the plate there must have been about 1,500 taken off, so that I may truly say that it has lessened the value of it to me & the purchasers, for which reason you will probably have no objections to make me a less charge than you alluded to in a former letter.* I have sent one copy of the book & map, for your inspection, & should you wish to have 50 or 100, more in b^{ds}. they are at your service, without being charg'd to account; but as I hinted before in a former letter, I beg not to be misunderstood, — as I will pay freely whatever you may think just, after you have weighed it in your mind. By the advice of a friend I have put at the corner “Published as the Act directs,” & enter'd the book at Stationers Hall, for no other reason but to prevent any other spurious editions; at the same time I hereby acknowledge that I have no right or title in the work, except what I print at my own expence. I have printed 1,000, & shall print the same number of the maps, which I suppose will be nearly completed by the time that I can receive a letter from you. The book I believe you will find very correct & neatly printed. I have added “Illustrated with a Map, &c.,” in the title page, which was

* The map in the copy of the Notes on Virginia in the library of this Society, which is no doubt the plate here referred to, does not bear the slightest indication of having been printed from a worn plate. Probably the sole purpose of Stockdale's complaint was to procure the use of the plate at the lowest price possible. — EDS.

absolutely necessary; otherways the booksellers would frequently sell the book without the map, the necessity of which, I hope, will be a sufficient apology for the liberty I have taken. I have taken great pains to procure Smith's Map of Virginia, but without success; therefore was absolutely obliged to give up the idea. I met with three different copies of the work, but without the map; nor does any of our gentlemen even remember to have seen a map to the book.*

I have inclosed a copy of your advertisement, that I shall this week send to every paper in England & Scotland, to be inserted, which I believe are between 70 & 80 in N^o., which will cost me upwards of £30, but I hope the book will repay me.

Tacitus's Works in Latin is not to be got in 8^{vo}.

Inclos'd is Lackington's bill which I have paid; & I will at any time execute any of your commands with pleasure.†

* It is a curious and interesting fact that more than a hundred years ago the booksellers had begun to despoil Smith's History of Virginia to such an extent that none of Stockdale's friends had ever seen a copy of the book with the map. — EDS.

† James Lackington, a famous London bookseller, was born at Wellington, Somerset, August 31, 1746, and died at Budleigh November 22, 1815. His father was a journeyman shoemaker of grossly intemperate habits; but his mother is said to have been a woman of great energy. Young Lackington began his business career at the age of ten as an itinerant pieman. At the age of fourteen he was apprenticed to a shoemaker, and two years later he became a Methodist. Subsequently he went to London and opened a bookstall and shoemaker's shop, starting with a few books and scraps of leather and a borrowed capital of five pounds. Here he prospered greatly, and soon gave up shoemaking. In a few years his bookstore, which was known as "The Temple of the Muses," and had a frontage of one hundred and forty feet at the corner of Finsbury Square, became one of the sights of London. In 1798 he retired from business, with an ample fortune, and became a Methodist preacher. (See Dictionary of National Biography, vol. xxxi. pp. 370, 371.) While Jefferson was in Paris he ordered many volumes from Lackington's catalogues. Two of Jefferson's lists, without date, in his own handwriting, are appended. — EDS.

22. Marshall's Chronological Tables. h. b. fair. fol. 2/.

347. American Traveller. 4^{to}. 2/6.

519. Alfred's Anglo-Saxon version of Orosius. 8^{vo}. 6/.

If this is sold send any one of N^{os}, 523, 518, 522. 520.

600. Colden's History of the 5 Nations. 4/.

870. Petty's Political Arithmetic. 1/.

1781. Creech's Lucretius. 2 v. 8^{vo}. h. b. neat. 3/3.

1789. Evans's Old Ballads. 4 v. 8^{vo}. 15/9.

1980. Moore's Fables. 12^{mo}. 1/3.

2632. Hargrave's Argument in the Negro's Case. 8^{vo}. 1/.

2644. Molloy de Jure Maritimo. 1/.

All the other articles you were so good as to order, you will find in the parcell.

Should there be any thing published that has great merit for the instruction or entertainment of youth, I shall esteem it a particular favor if you will be so good as to order it to be sent to me ; & at the same time I return you my sincere thanks for continuing to send M^r. Berquin's works, which you will be so good as pay for, & I will, whenever I am informed, give you credit in your acc^t. for the same.

I am with great respect, Sir,

Your much oblig'd & very humble servant,

JOHN STOCKDALE.

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2657. Wentworth's Office of Executors. 8^{vo}. 2/6.
 3906. Sterling's Ovidii Tristia. 1/6.
 3907. Sterling's Phaedrus. 1/6; Catonis, 9^d.
 3912. Sterling's Florus. 1/6; his Persius, 6^d.
 3916. Sterling's Pomey's Pantheon. 9^d.
 4294. Septuagint & New Testament. Greek. 7/6 fol.
 4323. Justiniani Historia Veneta. fair, gilt. Fol. 3/.
 4362. Arriani Expeditio Alex. Gr. Lat. fol., neat. 8/6. Steph. 1575.
 4588. Sophoclis Tragoediae. Gr. Lat. cum scholiis. 8^{vo}. 2/9.
 4623. Q. Curtius Delphini. 8^{vo}. 1/6.
 4632. Horace Delphini. 1/.
 4794. Ciceronis Tusculanarum Disput. neat gilt. 2/. Foulis, 1744.
 4923. Relation del Cardinal Bentivoglio. 12^{mo}. 1/.
 6522. Julian's Works by Gibbon. 2 v. 10/6. 8^{vo}.
 6532. Lucretius Lat. & Eng. prose. 2 vol. neat. 4/6. 8^{vo}.
 1529. Tacitus' Works by Gordon. 5 v. 8^{vo}. 14/6.
 Second part of Lackington's Catalogue for 1787.

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- Remarks on Chastelux' Travels. 1787. G. & T. Wilkie.
 Ludlam's Introduct. & Notes on Bird's Method of Dividing Astronom. Instrum. 4^{to}. 2/. Sewel. 1786.
 Evelyn's Terra, by Hunter. 4^{to}. 5/. Dodsley, 1787.
 Retrospect of the portraits delineated in a short Review of the Political State. 8^{vo}. 1/. Stockdale.
 Adair's Philosophical & Medical Sketch of the Natural History of the Human Body & Mind. 8^{vo}. 4/. Dilly.
 — Medical Cautions for the Consideration of Invalids.
 Trusler's London Adviser and Guide. 12^{mo}. 3/. Baldwin.
 Colo. Tarlton's Hist. of the Campaigns in 1780 & 1781 in N. America. 26/.
 Abercrombie's Gardener's Pocket Dict. 3 v. 8^{vo}. 10/6. Davis.
 Kirwan's Estimate of the Temperature of Different Climates. 3/. Elmsley.
 Sylva, or the Wood. 8^{vo}. 5/. Payne & Son.
 Shakesp. Co. Lit. Tacit.

JOHN STOCKDALE TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

SIR, — I duly rec'd yours of the 17th & 25th ultimo, & should have sent the articles off sooner had it not been for the difficulty I had to meet with Gordon's Tacitus's, it being entirely out of print; it is bound, but I hope it will answer your purpose. The price is £1-4.

Just as I was going to ship 400 of your work for Richmond & Philadelphia, I had the disagreeable intelligence to learn that your book was already printed in Philadelphia, & a skeliton of a map added to it, which, tho' not equal to mine, I am inform'd, as it comes much cheaper, it will answer their purpose.*

Aitken, of Philadelphia, is unfortunately 'fail'd.† I sent of in a box by the dilligence yesterday the following books: American Atlas, £2:12:6; Adams on the Constitutions, 5^s/; 10 Notes on Virginia for yourself (not charged) & 34 at 5^s/4 each for the books^r you was so good as to recommend; they sell in London retail at 7^s/ in b^{ds}. When they are sold he will be so good as to pay the money into your hands. I hope he will soon want more; it is well spoke off in London, but they much lament that you have not gone more at large into the work & brought it lower down.

I have order'd two copies to be deliver'd in your name to M^r Tho^s. Mann Randolph (gratis).

I return you my sincere thanks for the book you sent

* In the library of this Society is a copy of the first American edition of the Notes on Virginia, printed and sold by Prichard and Hall, Philadelphia, 1788. Its typographical appearance is much inferior to that of Stockdale's edition, and it has no map. Stockdale was misinformed when he wrote that the book had already been published, and that it contained the skeleton of a map. See Sabin's Dictionary of Books relating to America, vol. ix. p. 241. — Eds.

† Robert Aitken was a well-known bookseller and publisher in Philadelphia. (See 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vols. ii., iii. *passim*.) In a letter dated Aug. 15, 1788, Stockdale writes: "I am just inform'd by a friend from Philadelphia that the report of the failure of Mr. Aitken, bookseller, was groundless." — Eds.

me ; there are many pleasing & entertaining stories for children which will be of use for my intended publication.

I am with great respect, Sir,

Your much obliged & very humble serv^t,

JOHN STOCKDALE.

PICCADILLY, LONDON, 3rd Augt, 1787.

JOHN STOCKDALE TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

PICCADILLY, 31st Aug^t., 1787.

SIR, — I duly rec^ded yours of the 14th instant, & am exceedingly obliged to you for the trouble you have taken with the bookseller for the sale of the Notes on Virginia.

I have seen M^r. Dilly, bookseller in the Poultry, who positively assures me that your book is printed at Philadelphia, & that his authority is M^r. Bury, bookseller at New York. M^r. Dilly believes what he has asserted, tho' I must confess I agree with you, & doubt it. I have sent a small number to D^r. Ramsay & M^r. Laurens, at Charleston. M^r. Dilly has sent a few copies to New York. I have received by your favor Vol. 1 to 9 of M^r. Berquin's Friend of Youth, & Vol. 2 of Little Grandison, & shall esteem it a particular favor if you'll be so good as to give direction that all after Vol. 9 of the Friend of Youth, & Vol. 1, 3, &c., of Little Grandison, may be sent by the first opportunity. I have sent to M^r. Richardson at the Royal Exchange, I believe at least a dozen times by his appointment, for the "Remarks on the Taxation of Free States," & tho' he his [*sic*] sensible he has got many copies; he has not yet been able to find one. If I can meet with one, you will receive it thro' the Charge des Affairs of France' hands. I am, with great respect,

Your much obliged & very h^{ble} serv^t,

JOHN STOCKDALE.

JOHN STOCKDALE TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

SIR, — I duly rec^ded yours of the 10th ins^t and return you my sincere thanks for your kindness in sending the little volumes wanted, which I rec^ded by favor of M^r. — of Hatton Garden, & for your attention in forwarding the continuation.

M^r Lackington informed me that he had sent you a catalogue a fortnight since, but for fear you should not have rec^ded it I have sent another, together with some other articles, this day.

I this morning called upon M^r. Faden, map engraver, &c., at Charing Cross; he his [*sic*] a tradesman of the strictest honor & integrity in his line of business. I put the question candidly to him, "What would be a fair price for me to pay for the use of the plate of Virginia?" when he gave it as his opinion that "thirty guineas was betwixt man & man a fair price for working 1,000." M^r. Cox, printer in Quality Court, Chancery Lane, is the person that I employed to work your plate. He has worked exactly 1,000 & 25, to supply any accidents that might happen by tearing, &c. Notwithstanding M^r 'Faden's opinion, I now leave it to you to deduct whatever you think proper from your bill, & also be so good as to deduct for M^r Berquin's works & the other books you have been so kind as to send. I will endeavour to find out some method to send your books to different parts of America as speedily as possible.

I am, with great respect, Sir,

Your much obliged and very h^{ble} serv^t,

JOHN STOCKDALE.

PICCADILLY, LONDON, 21st Sept., 1787.

P. S. I have sent again this day to Richardson's for the "Historical Rem^{ks} on Free States," but they say they have not got one left; but I will endeavour to get one from some private gentleman.

EDWARD RUTLEDGE* TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

MY DEAR SIR, — Your favor of the 14th of July afforded me a great deal of pleasure. It was a new proof of your esteem for the individual, & it was replete with information highly interesting to my countrymen. I have endeavour'd, & not without success, to convince several of our mercantile people, as well as some of our planters, how highly beneficial it will be to change the consignment of their rice from Great Britain to France; & that I might have some share in accomplishing a measure which I have much at heart, I have determined to ship on my own account one hundred & fifty or two hundred barrels. My wishes for advantageous sales are founded in public considerations alone; & I am persuaded I shall not be disappointed. I have many reasons for desiring to deprive the British nation of the benefits of this branch of our commerce. I will say nothing of the injuries which we have recieved from her, or of the unworthy discrimination which she daily makes between us and other powers. But it is a shameful & an unnatural relic of our former dependance, to transmit nearly the whole of our most valuable staple to a country in which it is not consumed, & which before it can be consumed must be subjected to a double freight, a double insurance, a variety of port charges, & many incidental expences. That the connection between France & this country might be drawn closer, & that she might not only rival but supplant Great Britain in this branch of commerce, two things should be attended to: the establishment of some safe free port,

* Edward Rutledge was born in Charleston, S. C., Nov. 23, 1749, and died there Jan. 23, 1800. In 1774 he was sent to the Continental Congress. He took an active part in the discussions on the question of independence, and was one of the signers of the Declaration, remaining in Congress until 1777. He continued active in public life and in the practice of his profession as a lawyer nearly down to the time of his death. In 1798 he was elected Governor of South Carolina, but did not live to complete his term of office. See Appleton's *Cyclopædia of American Biography*, vol. v., p. 358. — Eds.

and the obtaining an accurate knowledge of the manner in which rice is cleansed at Cowes, in the Isle of White. It is necessary that it should undergo some sifting after it has been eight or ten weeks in the hole of a vessel ; & at the Isle of White it is landed, unpacked, & screen'd, which purifies it very much, & fits it for a more distant market. The method & the machine with which this is done are both very simple, & consequently may be acquired in little time & at a moderate expence. The advantages are not confined to the rice which may be consumed in France ; others will result to both nations from making the French port a depot for what shall be intended for foreign markets. Altho' I am sanguine in my expectations, I foresee one impedement to this intercourse being as immediately extensive as I desire ; which is, the immense debt that is due from this country to our old friends. Some mercantile men think it a point of honor to consign their cargoes to the persons who are their creditors ; & this inclination, well or ill founded, I am not about to enquire, must be counterpoised by extra encouragements. All our merchants, however, are not under this embarrassment ; in the exception is the house of Brailsford & Morris. As they are unknown to you, they have desired me to say of them what I think they deserve ; and I do not exceed their request when I tell you that they are a house of punctuality, judgment, & good capital ; & that in my opinion they may be considered as truly trustworthy.

I thank you, my good friend, for an offer of a copy of the original impression of your Notes on Virginia. I beg you will send them ; I shall accept them with a great deal of pleasure. You seem to consider the quarter of the globe from whence America was peopled, & the manner, as now reduced to a certainty. But it is not so absolutely determined as to preclude conjecture. A gentleman with a great deal more learning & a great deal more sense than I have is convinced that America was

peopled from Carthage. He maintains that when Hanno, their famous admiral, was sent out to settle colonies, some of their vessels mist their port of destination, & were never able afterwards to regain it; that the trade-winds blew them to the coast of America, thro' the Gulph of Mexico. In this opinion he is confirmed from the exact resemblance which he observed between the people who inhabit that country & the Creek Indians, the first time he saw an Indian, & from words of both, sounding alike & conveying the same meaning. Diodorus Seculus is the author who particularly mentions Hanno's voyage. You have him at hand, we have him not, & you can refer to him. Think of it; & when I next write you, I will give you at large the conjectures of my philosopher: at present I am too much engaged in the squabbles of the bar (for we are in the midst of our term) to extend this letter. Adieu, my dear Sir; keep me in your esteem & believe me to be with great truth,

Yours very sincerely,

EDWARD RUTLEDGE.

Oct^r. 23, 1787.

DAVID RITTENHOUSE* TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

PHILADELPHIA, Novem^r 8th [1787?].

DEAR SIR, — About two months ago I received your very valuable present of books, mentioned in the last letter. I had the pleasure to receive from you, for which I

* David Rittenhouse was born at Germantown, Pa., April 8, 1732, and at a very early age showed mechanical ability and a strong bent toward astronomical and mathematical studies. He was successively employed in determining parts of the boundary lines between Pennsylvania and Maryland, New York and New Jersey, and New York and Pennsylvania. He also held various public offices, in all of which he acquitted himself with distinction. His scientific attainments were recognized both at home and abroad; and in 1795 he was chosen an honorary fellow of the Royal Society of London. In 1790, on the death of Franklin, he was chosen president of the American Philosophical Society, which office he held until his death, when he was succeeded by Jefferson. He died in Philadelphia, June 26, 1796. See Renwick's *Life of Rittenhouse* in Sparks's *American Biography*, vol. vii. pp. 297-398; Appleton's *Cyclopædia of American Biography*, vol. v. pp. 262, 263. — Eds.

am greatly obliged to you. M. Cassini has sent me a copy of the observations made at the Royal Observatory at Paris in the year 1786. I am at a loss to direct to him ; will it be convenient for you to return my sincere thanks to him for the favour ? As soon as I can select the most valuable of the astronomical observations I have made for some years past I will transmit them to him.

I think I promised to send you my observations on the Western country. Not being able to extend my enquiries near so far as I wished I did not think them worth a place in the volume of Transactions ; but that they might not be intirely lost I permitted them to be printed in the "Columbian Magazine" which I have enclosed for you. The two American poems, by Mr Barlow & Mr Dwight you have certainly seen. These with the poem by Trumbull, all of New England, seem to shew that the Northern people have taken the lead in this very entertaining path of polite literature. Need I mention a word of politics ? Your numerous correspondents will furnish you with more than can be agreeable on this subject. Your next, I hope, will inform me that all disputes between Turks, Russians, Swedes, & Danes are settled. If not we must sit down with the mortifying conviction that the people of Europe are little wiser than they were a century ago.

My compliments & best wishes for Miss Patty.* Tho' the very infirm state of my health keeps the hour of dissolution almost perpetually present in my mind, I still promise myself the pleasure of seeing you both.

I am, dear Sir, with great respect,

Yours sincerely, &c.,

DAV^d RITTENHOUSE.

T. JEFFERSON, Esq^r.

* Martha, Jefferson's eldest daughter. See biographical note to the next letter. — Eds.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO MARTHA JEFFERSON RANDOLPH.*

NEW YORK, May 16, 1790.

MY DEAR PATSY, — Yours of the 25th of April came to hand ten days ago, & yesterday I received Mr Randolph's of the 3^d instant. When I wrote to him last week, I hoped to have been soon rid of the periodical headach which had attacked me. It has indeed been remarkeably slight since that, but I am not yet quite clear of it. I expect every fit to be the last. I inclose the newspapers for Mr Randolph. He will probably judge, as the world does, from the stile & subject of the discourses on Davila, that they are the production of the Vice-president.† On Monday last the President was taken with a peripneumony, of threatening appearance; yesterday (which was the 5th day) he was thought by the physicians to be dying. However about 4 aclock in the evening a copious sweat came on, his expectoration, which had been thin & ichorous, began to assume a well digested form, his articulation became distinct, and in the course of two hours it was evident he had gone thro' a favorable crisis. He continues mending to-day, and from total despair we are now in good hopes of him. Indeed he is thought quite safe. My head does not permit me to add more than the affectionate love to you all of

Yours,

TH: JEFFERSON.

MRS. RANDOLPH.

* Martha, eldest child of Thomas and Martha (Wayles) (Skelton) Jefferson was born at Monticello in September, 1772; and when in her twelfth year accompanied her father to France, where she was carefully educated. In 1789 she returned to America with her father, and on the 23^d of the following February was married to her second cousin, Thomas Mann Randolph, Jr., eldest son of Col. Thomas Mann Randolph, of Tuckahoe, by whom she had ten children. She died October 10, 1836. — Eds.

† The Discourses on Davila were first published in the Gazette of the United States, at Philadelphia, in 1790. See Works of John Adams, vol. i. pp. 454, 618; vol. vi. p. 225. — Eds.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO EDMUND PENDLETON.*

*The Honorable Edmund Pendleton. Caroline County. By the Port
Royal Mail.*

PHILADELPHIA, July 24, 1791.

DEAR SIR, — I recieved duly your favour of the 13th, and communicated it to the President. The titles of your relation were unquestionably strong of themselves, & still strengthened by your recommendation ; but the place was before proposed to another, whose acceptance will probably fix it.

The President is indisposed with a tumour like that he had in New York the year before last. It does not as yet seem as if it would come to a head.

We are wonderfully slow in recieving news from Gen^l Scott.† The common accounts give reason to hope his expedition has succeeded well. You will have seen the rapidity with which the subscriptions to the bank were filled ; as yet the delirium of speculation is too strong to admit sober reflection. It remains to be seen whether in a country whose capital is too small to carry on its own commerce, to establish manufactures, erect buildings, &c., such sums should have been withdrawn from these useful pursuits to be employed in gambling. Whether it was well judged to force on the public a paper circulation of so many millions, for which they will be paying about 7 per cent per ann., & thereby banish as many millions of

* Edmund Pendleton was born in Caroline County, Va., September 9, 1721. His early advantages were small, and he began his career in the office of the County Clerk. In 1744 he was admitted to the bar ; and in 1752 he was elected to the House of Burgesses. From that time down to his death, October 23, 1803, he filled a conspicuous place in public life as legislator and jurist, and was described by Jefferson as " taken all in all the ablest man in debate I ever met with." (See Appleton's *Cyclopædia of American Biography*, vol. iv. pp. 708, 709 ; Randall's *Life of Jefferson*, vol. i. p. 198.) The letter which follows is printed from the collection of Jefferson's letters given to the Historical Society by Mr. and Mrs. A. C. Washburn. — Eds.

† General Charles Scott, a native of Virginia, who had removed to Kentucky, was then serving in St. Clair's unfortunate expedition against the Indians. — Eds.

gold & silver for which they would have paid no interest. I am afraid it is the intention to nourish this spirit of gambling by throwing in from time to time new aliment.

The question of war & peace in Europe is still doubtful. The French revolution proceeds steadily, & is, I think, beyond the danger of accident of every kind. The success of that will ensure the progress of liberty in Europe and its preservation here. The failure of that would have been a powerful argument with those who wish to introduce a king, lords, & commons here, a sect which is all head & no body. Mr. Madison has had a little bilious touch at New York, from which he is recovered, however. Adieu, my dear Sir.

Your affectionate friend & serv^t.,

TH: JEFFERSON.

BENJAMIN BANNEKER * TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

MARYLAND, BALTIMORE COUNTY, near ELLICOTT'S
LOWER MILLS, August 19th, 1791.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, SECRETARY OF STATE: SIR, — I am fully sensible of the greatness of that freedom which I take with you on the present occasion; a liberty which seemed to me scarcely allowable, when I reflected on that distinguished, and dignified station in which you stand; and the almost general prejudice and prepossession which is so prevalent in the world against those of my complexion.

* Benjamin Banneker was of pure African descent on his father's side, and probably of mixed blood on his mother's side, and was born, in Baltimore County, Maryland, in a wilderness, which afterward became the site of Ellicott's Mills. His early advantages were very small, but he seems to have had a natural aptitude for mathematical and astronomical calculations. When he was about thirty he contrived and made a clock which proved a good time-keeper. Thirty years later he published his first almanac; and he continued to print an almanac every year until 1802. He died in October, 1806. (See Latrobe's Memoir of Benjamin Banneker, 1845; Sketch of the Life of Benjamin Banneker, read by J. S. Norris before the Maryland Historical Society, 1854.) This letter was printed in Latrobe's pamphlet, but with the omission of the important foot-note and the postscript. It is now printed from the original manuscript, which is indorsed by Jefferson, "Reed. Aug. 26." — Eps.

I suppose it is a truth too well attested to you to need a proof here, that we are a race of beings who have long laboured under the abuse and censure of the world, that we have long been looked upon with an eye of contempt, and that we have long been considered rather as brutish than human, and scarcely capable of mental endowments.

Sir, I hope I may safely admit, in consequence of that report which hath reached me, that you are a man far less inflexible in sentiments of this nature than many others, that you are measurably friendly and well disposed toward us, and that you are willing and ready to lend your aid and assistance to our relief from those many distresses and numerous calamities to which we are reduced.

Now, Sir, if this is founded in truth, I apprehend you will readily embrace every opportunity to eradicate that train of absurd and false ideas and opinions which so generally prevails with respect to us, and that your sentiments are concurrent with mine, which are that one universal Father hath given being to us all, and that he hath not only made us all of one flesh, but that he hath also without partiality afforded us all the same sensations, and endued us all with the same faculties, and that, however variable we may be in society or religion, however diversified in situation or colour, we are all of the same family, and stand in the same relation to him.

Sir, if these are sentiments of which you are fully persuaded, I hope you cannot but acknowledge that it is the indispensable duty of those who maintain for themselves the rights of human nature, and who profess the obligations of Christianity, to extend their power and influence to the relief of every part of the human race, from whatever burthen or oppression they may unjustly labour under, and this I apprehend a full conviction of the truth and obligation of these principles should lead all to.

Sir, I have long been convinced that if your love for your selves and for those inestimable laws which preserve to you the rights of human nature was founded on sincerity, you could not but be solicitous that every individual, of whatsoever rank or distinction, might with you equally enjoy the blessings thereof; neither could you rest satisfied, short of the most active diffusion of your exertions, in order to their promotion from any state of degradation to which the unjustifiable cruelty and barbarism of men may have reduced them.

Sir, I freely and chearfully acknowledge that I am of the African race, and in that colour which is natural to them of the deepest dye,* and it is under a sense of the most profound gratitude to the Supreme Ruler of the universe that I now confess to you that I am not under that state of tyrannical thralldom and inhuman captivity to which too many of my brethren are doomed; but that I have abundantly tasted of the fruition of those blessings which proceed from that free and unequalled liberty with which you are favoured, and which I hope you will willingly allow you have received from the immediate hand of that Being from whom proceedeth every good and perfect gift.

Sir, suffer me to recall to your mind that time in which the arms and tyranny of the British crown were exerted with every powerful effort in order to reduce you to a state of servitude; look back, I intreat you, on the variety of dangers to which you were exposed; reflect on that time in which every human aid appeared unavailable, and in which even hope and fortitude wore the aspect of inability to the conflict, and you cannot but be led to a serious and grateful sense of your miraculous and providential preservation; you cannot but acknowledge that the present freedom and tranquility which you enjoy you

* My father was brought here a slave from Africa.

have mercifully received, and that it is the peculiar blessing of Heaven.

This, Sir, was a time in which you clearly saw into the injustice of a state of slavery, and in which you had just apprehensions of the horrors of its condition; it was now, Sir, that your abhorrence thereof was so excited that you publickly held forth this true and invaluable doctrine, which is worthy to be recorded and remember'd in all succeeding ages: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, and that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

Here, Sir, was a time in which your tender feelings for yourselves had engaged you thus to declare; you were then impressed with proper ideas of the great valuation of liberty, and the free possession of those blessings to which you were entitled by nature; but, Sir, how pitiable is it to reflect that, altho you were so fully convinced of the benevolence of the Father of mankind, and of his equal and impartial distribution of those rights and privileges which he had conferred upon them, that you should at the same time counteract his mercies in detaining by fraud and violence so numerous a part of my brethren under groaning captivity and cruel oppression; that you should at the same time be found guilty of that most criminal act, which you professedly detested in others, with respect to yourselves.

Sir, I suppose that your knowledge of the situation of my brethren is too extensive to need a recital here; neither shall I presume to prescribe methods by which they may be relieved, otherwise than by recommending to you and all others to wean yourselves from these narrow prejudices which you have imbibed with respect to them, and as Job proposed to his friends, "put your souls in their souls stead"; thus shall your hearts be enlarged with

kindness and benevolence toward them, and thus shall you need neither the direction of myself or others in what manner to proceed herein.

And now, Sir, altho my sympathy and affection for my brethren hath caused my enlargement thus far, I ardently hope that your candour and generosity will plead with you in my behalf, when I make known to you that it was not originally my design; but that having taken up my pen in order to direct to you, as a present, a copy of an almanack which I have calculated for the succeeding year, I was unexpectedly and unavoidably led thereto.

This calculation, Sir, is the production of my arduous study in this my advanced stage of life; for having long had unbounded desires to become acquainted with the secrets of nature, I have had to gratify my curiosity herein thro my own assiduous application to astronomical study, in which I need not to recount to you the many difficulties and disadvantages which I have had to encounter.

And altho I had almost declined to make my calculation for the ensuing year, in consequence of that time which I had allotted therefor being taken up at the Federal Territory by the request of M^r. Andrew Ellicott,* yet finding myself under several engagements to printers of this State, to whom I had communicated my design, on my return to my place of residence I industriously apply'd myself thereto, which I hope I have accomplished with correctness and accuracy; a copy of which I have taken the liberty to direct to you, and which I humbly request you will favourably receive, and altho you may have the opportunity of perusing it after its publication,

* Andrew Ellicott, a civil engineer, was born in Bucks County, Penn., Jan. 24, 1751, and died at West Point, N. Y., August 29, 1820. His early manhood was passed at Ellicott's Mills, which town was founded by his father and uncle. In 1790 he was employed to survey and lay out the city of Washington; and it was doubtless his personal knowledge of Banneker's great natural gifts which led him to select Banneker for an assistant in that work. See Appleton's *Cyclopædia of American Biography*, vol. ii. pp. 327, 328. — Eds.

yet I chose to send it to you in manuscript previous thereto, that thereby you might not only have an earlier inspection, but that you might also view it in my own handwriting.

And now, Sir, I shall conclude, and subscribe myself, with the most profound respect,

Your most obedient humble servant,

BENJAMIN BANNEKER.

N. B. Any communication to me may be had by a direction to Mr Elias Ellicott, merchant, in Baltimore town.

B. B.

As an essay of my calculation is put into the hand of Mr. Cruckshank, of Philadelphia, for publication, I would wish that you might neither have this Almanack copy published nor give any printer an opportunity thereof, as it might tend to disappoint Mr Joseph Cruckshank in his sale.

B. B.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO SAMUEL BIDDLE.

PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 12, 1792.

SIR, — Having asked the favor of Mr Hollingsworth to look out for a person in his neighborhood who would be willing to go to Virginia and overlook a farm for me, he informs me that you will undertake it for a hundred and twenty dollars a year. He seems to have mistaken me in the circumstance of time, as he mentions that you would expect to go about the new year. I had observed to him that I should not want a person till after the next harvest. The person who now takes care of the place is engaged for the ensuing year, which finishes with us about November; but I should wish you to be there by seed time in order to prepare the crop of the following year. The wages are a good deal higher than I expected, as Mr Hollingsworth mentioned that the usual wages in your

neighborhood were from £25. to £30. Maryland currency. However I consent to give them, & the rather as there will be some matters under your care beyond the lines of the farm. I have a smith & some sawyers who will require to be seen once a day, and the first year of your being there I shall have some people employed in finishing a canal, who will also be to be attended to.

The place you are to overlook is that on which I live, & to which I shall return in March next. It is 70 miles above Richmond on the North branch of James River, exactly where it breaks through the first ridge of little mountains, near the village of Charlottesville, in Albemarle county. It is 225 miles from Elkton, a southwest course. From this description you may find it in any map of the country. The climate is very temperate both summer & winter, and as healthy as any part of America, without a single exception.

The farm is of about 5 or 600 acres of cleared land, very hilly, originally as rich as any highlands in the world, but much worried by Indian corn & tobacco. It is still however very strong, & remarkably friendly to wheat & rye. These will be my first object. Next will be grasses, cattle, sheep, & the introduction of potatoes for the use of the farm, instead of Indian corn, in as great a degree as possible. You will have from 12 to 15 laborers under you. They will be well clothed, and as well fed as your management of the farm will enable us, for it is chiefly with a view to place them on the comfortable footing of the laborers of other countries, that I come into another country to seek an overlooker for them, as also to have my lands a little more taken care. For these purposes I have long banished tobacco, & wish to do the same by Indian corn in a great degree. The house wherein you will live will be about half a mile from my own. You will of course keep bachelor's house. It is usual with us to give a fixed allowance of pork; I shall much rather substitute

beef & mutton, as I consider pork to be as destructive an article in a farm as Indian corn. On this head we shall not disagree, and as I shall pass Elkton in March, I will contrive to give you notice to meet me there, when we may descend to other details. But for the present I shall wish to receive your answer in writing, that I may know whether you consider yourself as engaged, so that I need not look out for another. I leave you free as to the time of going, from harvest till Christmas. If you will get yourself conveyed as far as Fredericksburg, which is as far as the stages go on that road, I will find means of conveying you from thence, which will be 70 miles. So far respects the farm over which I wish to place you.

Besides this I have on the opposite side of the little river running through my lands, 2000 acres of lands of the same quality, & which has been cultivated in the same way, which I wish to tenant out at a quarter of a dollar an acre, in farms of such sizes as the tenants would chuse. I would hire the labourers now employed on them from year to year to the same tenants, at about 50 dollars for a man & his wife, the tenant feeding & clothing them & paying their taxes & those of the land, which are very trifling. The lands to be leased for 7 years or more, the laborers only from year to year, to begin next November. I would like the farms to be not less than 200 acres, because such a farmer would probably like to hire a man & his wife as labourers. I have mentioned these circumstances to you, because I have understood that tenants might probably be got from Maryland, and perhaps it would be agreeable to you to engage some of your acquaintances to go & settle so near where you will be. Perhaps you could inform me in what other part of Maryland or the neighboring States tenants might be more probably found, and I should willingly incur the expence of having them sought for. Your assistance in this would particularly oblige me. I would ease the rent of the first

year, that the tenant might get himself under way with as few difficulties as possible, but I should propose restrictions against cultivating too great a quantity of Indian corn.

In expectation of hearing from you immediately I am,
Sir, Your humble sev^t,

TH: JEFFERSON.

P. S. There is a market for wheat, rye, &c, in two little towns on each side of my lands, neither more than two miles & a half distant.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO MARTHA JEFFERSON RANDOLPH.

PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 31, 1792.

MY DEAR MARTHA, — I received three days ago Mr Randolph's letter of the 14th from Richmond, and received it with great joy, as it informed me of the re-establishment of dear Anne's health. I apprehend from an expression in his letter that some of mine may have miscarried. I have never failed to write every Thursday or Friday. Percieving by the Richmond paper that the Western post now leaves that place on Monday, I change my day of writing also to Sunday or Monday. One of the Indian chiefs now here, whom you may remember to have seen at Monticello a day or two before Tarlton drove us of, remembers you & enquired after you. He is of the Pioria nation; perhaps you may recollect that he gave our name to an infant son he then had with him, and who, he now tells me, is a fine lad. Blanchard is arrived here and is to ascend in his balloon within a few days.* The affairs of France are going on well. Tell Mr Randolph that I

* François Blanchard, the famous aeronaut, was born in France in 1738, and died there March 7, 1809. In 1785 he made his remarkable voyage in a balloon across the British Channel with Dr. Jeffries, of Boston. For this successful undertaking Blanchard was rewarded by Louis XVI. He made numerous ascensions in Europe and on this side of the Atlantic. See *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*, tome vi. pp. 188, 189. — Eds.

write him a letter by this post in answer to the application to rent Elkhall, but under the possibility that the sale of it may be completed, I inclose his letter to Mr. Hylton with a desire that he will return it to me if the place is sold, otherwise to forward it to Mr Randolph. My best esteem to him and our friends with you. Adieu, my dear.

Yours affectionately,

TH : JEFFERSON.

Mrs. RANDOLPH.

ELI WHITNEY * TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

The Hon. Thomas Jefferson, Esq., Secretary of State for the United States.

NEW HAVEN, Nov. 24th, 1793.

RESPECTED SIR, — I received your favor of the 16th inst yesterday, and with pleasure take the earliest opportunity to answer your enquiries concerning my machine for cleaning cotton.

It is about a year since I first turned my attention to constructing this machine, at which time I was in the State of Georgia. Within about ten days after my first conception of the plan, I made a small, though imperfect model. Experiments with this encouraged me to make one on a larger scale. But the extreme difficulty of procuring workmen and proper materials in Georgia, prevented my completing the larger one, untill some time in April last. This though much larger than my first attempt, is not above one third so large as the machines may be made with convenience. The cylinder is only two feet two inches in length and six inches diameter. It is turned by hand and requires the strength of one man to keep it in constant motion. It is the stated task of one

* Eli Whitney, the inventor of the cotton-gin, was born at Westborough, Mass., Dec. 8, 1765, graduated at Yale College in 1792, made his great invention in the same year while living in Georgia, and died at New Haven, Conn., Jan. 8, 1825. See Appleton's *Cyclopædia of American Biography*, vol. vi. pp. 488, 489; Olmsted's *Memoir of Eli Whitney*. — Eds.

negro to clean fifty w^t. (I mean fifty pounds after it is separated from the seed) of the green seed cotton p^r. day. This task he usually completes by one o'clock in the afternoon. He is paid so much p^r. lb. for all he cleans over and above his task, and for ten or fifteen days successively he has cleared from sixty to eighty w^t. p^r. day and left work every day before sunset. The machine cleaned fifteen hundred weight in about four weeks, which cotton was examined in N. York, the quality declared good and sold in market at the highest price.

I have, Sir, been thus particular in relating the experience I have had of the performance of this machine, that you may be the better able to judge of its utility & success.

I have not had much experience in cleaning the black seed cotton. I only know that it will clean this kind considerably faster than it will the green seeded, but how much I cannot say.

After the workmen are acquainted with the business, I should judge, the *real* expence of one which will clean a hundred w^t. pr day, would not exceed the price of ten of those in common use.

I shall have another person concerned with me in carrying on the business after the patent is obtained.* We have not yet determined at what price we shall sell the machines, it will, however, be so low as to induce the purchaser to give them a preference to any other.

We are now erecting one on a large scale, to be turned by horses, for our own use, and I do not think it will be in our power to make any for sale this winter.

This, Sir, is not the machine advertised by Pearce at the Patterson Manufactory. I never saw a machine of any kind whatever for ginning cotton, untill several months after I invented this for which I have applied for a patent. Some time last spring, I saw it mentioned in

* Phineas Miller, a native of Connecticut, and a graduate of Yale College, in the class of 1785. — Eds.

a Savannah news-paper that M^r Pearce of New Jersey had invented a machine for ginning cotton, but there was no mention made of the construction. I have since understood that his improvement was only a multiplication of the small rollers used in the common gins. This is every thing I know concerning the machine to which I suppose you allude in your postscript.

I think the machine is well calculated for family use. It may be made on a very small scale and yet perform in proportion to its size. I believe one might be made within the compass of two cubic feet, that would cleanse all the cotton which any one family manufactures for its own use. The machine itself does considerable towards carding the cotton, and I have no doubt but by leaving out the clearer and adding three or four cylinders covered with card-teeth, it would deliver the cotton completely prepared for spinning. You will be able to form a more perfect idea of the machine from the model, which will be so complete as to perform the operation of separating the cotton from the seed.

It is my intention to come to Philadelphia within a few weeks and bring the model myself; but pe[rhaps] it will not be in my power, in which case I s[hall] send forward the model with an order for the patent.

I am, respected Sir, your very hum^{bl} serv^t.,

ELI WHITNEY.

The Hon. THO^s JEFFERSON, Esq.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO JOHN TAYLOR.*

John Taylor, Caroline, near the Bowling-green.

MONTICELLO, Dec. 29, 1794.

DEAR SIR, — I have long owed you a letter, for which my conscience would not have let me rest in quiet but on

* John Taylor, an eminent statesman and agriculturist, was born in Orange County, Virginia, in 1750, and graduated at William and Mary College in 1770. He became a

the consideration that the paiment would not be worth your acceptance. The debt is not merely for a letter the common traffic of every day, but for valuable ideas, which instructed me, which I have adopted, & am acting on them. I am sensible of the truth of your observations that the atmosphere is the great storehouse of matter for recruiting our lands, that tho' efficacious, it is slow in it's operation, and we must therefore give them time instead of the loads of quicker manure given in other countries, that for this purpose we must avail ourselves of the great quantities of land we possess in proportion to our labour, and that while putting them to nurse with the atmosphere, we must protect them from the bite & tread of animals, which are nearly a counterpoise for the benefits of the atmosphere. As good things, as well as evil, go in a train, this relieves us from the labor & expence of crossfences, now very sensibly felt on account of the scarcity & distance of timber. I am accordingly now engaged in applying my cross fences to the repair of the outer ones and substituting rows of peach trees to preserve the boundaries of the fields. And though I observe your strictures on rotations of crops, yet it appears that in this I differ from you only in words. You keep half your lands in culture, the other half at nurse; so I propose to do. Your scheme indeed requires only four years & mine six; but the proportion of labour & rest is the same. My years of rest, however, are employed, two of them in producing clover, yours in volunteer herbage. But I still understand it to be your opinion that clover is best where lands will produce them. Indeed I think that the important improvement for which

planter, and was greatly interested in the improvement of agriculture. In 1797 he was one of the Presidential Electors, and in the following year he moved in the Virginia House of Deputies the famous resolutions of 1798. He died in Caroline County, Virginia, August 20, 1824. (See Appleton's *Cyclopædia of American Biography*, vol. vi. p. 45.) This letter is printed from the original in the collection of autographs given to the Society by Mr. and Mrs. A. C. Washburn. — Eds.

the world is indebted to Young is the substitution of clover crops instead of unproductive fallows; & the demonstration that lands are more enriched by clover than by volunteer herbage or fallows; and the clover crops are highly valuable. That our red lands which are still in tolerable heart will produce fine clover I know from the experience of the last year; and indeed that of my neighbors had established the fact. And from observations on accidental plants in the feilds which have been considerably harrassed with corn, I believe that even these will produce clover fit for soiling of animals green. I think, therefore, I can count on the success of that improver. My third year of rest will be devoted to cowpenning, & to a trial of the buckwheat dressing. A further progress in surveying my open arable lands has shewn me that I can have 7 fields in each of my farms where I expected only six; consequently that I can add more to the portion of rest & ameliorating crops. I have doubted on a question on which I am sure you can advise me well, whether I had better give this newly acquired year as an addition to the continuance of my clover, or throw it with some improving crop between two of my crops of grain, as for instance between my corn & rye. I strongly incline to the latter, because I am not satisfied that one cleansing crop in seven years will be sufficient; and indeed I think it important to separate my exhausting crops by alternations of amelioraters. With this view I think to try an experiment of what Judge Parker informs me he practises. That is, to turn in my wheat stubble the instant the grain is off, and sow turneps to be fed out by the sheep. But whether this will answer in our fields which are harrassed, I do not know. We have been in the habit of sowing only our freshest lands in turneps, hence a presumption that wearied lands will not bring them. But Young's making

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turneps to be fed on by sheep the basis of his improvement of poor lands, affords evidence that tho they may not bring great crops, they will bring them in a sufficient degree to improve the lands. I will try that experiment, however, this year, as well as the one of buckwheat. I have also attended to another improver mentioned by you, the winter-vetch, & have taken measures to get the seed of it from England, as also of the Siberian vetch which Millar greatly commends, & being a biennial might perhaps take the place of clover in lands which do not suit that. The winter vetch I suspect may be advantageously thrown in between crops, as it gives a choice to use it as green feed in the spring if fodder be run short, or to turn it in as a green-dressing. My rotation, with these amendments, is as follows:—

1. Wheat, followed the same year by turneps, to be fed on by the sheep.
2. Corn & potatoes mixed, & in autumn the vetch to be used as fodder in the spring if wanted, or to be turned in as a dressing.
3. Peas or potatoes, or both according to the quality of the field.
4. Rye and clover sown on it in the spring. Wheat may be substituted here for rye, when it shall be found that the 2^d, 3^d, 5th, & 6th fields will subsist the farm.
5. Clover.
6. Clover, & in autumn turn it in & sow the vetch.
7. Turn in the vetch in the spring, then sow buckwheat & turn that in, having hurdled off the poorest spots for cowpenning. In autumn sow wheat to begin the circle again.

I am for throwing the whole force of my husbandry on the wheat-field, because it is the only one which is to go to market to produce money. Perhaps the clover may bring in something in the form of stock. The other feilds are merely for the consumption of the farm. Melilot,

mentioned by you, I never heard of. The horse bean I tried this last year. It turned out nothing. The President has tried it without success. An old English farmer of the name of Spuryear, settled in Delaware, has tried it there with good success; but he told me it would not do without being well shaded, and I think he planted it among his corn for that reason. But he acknowledged our pea was as good an ameliorater & a more valuable pulse, as being food for man as well as horse. The succory is what Young calls *Chicoria Intubus*. He sent some seed to the President, who gave me some, & I gave it to my neighbors to keep up till I should come home. One of them has cultivated it with great success, is very fond of it, and gave me some seed which I sowed last spring. Tho' the summer was favorable it came on slowly at first, but by autumn became large & strong. It did not seed that year, but will the next, & you shall be furnished with seed. I suspect it requires rich ground, & then produces a heavy crop for green feed for horses & cattle. I had poor success with my potatoes last year, not having made more than 60 or 70 bushels to the acre. But my neighbors having made good crops, I am not disheartened. The first step towards the recovery of our lands is to find substitutes for corn & bacon. I count on potatoes, clover, & sheep. The two former to feed every animal on the farm except my negroes, & the latter to feed them, diversified with rations of salted fish & molasses, both of them wholesome, agreeable, & cheap articles of food.

For pasture I rely on the forests by day, & soiling in the evening. Why could we not have a moveable airy cow house, to be set up in the middle of the field which is to be dunged, & soil our cattle in that thro' the summer as well as winter, keeping them constantly up & well littered? This, with me, would be in the clover field of the 1st year, because during the 2^d year it would be rotting, and would be spread on it in fallow the beginning of the

3^d, but such an effort would be far above the present tyro state of my farming. The grosser barbarisms in culture which I have to encounter, are more than enough for all my attentions at present. The dung-yard must be my last effort but one. The last would be irrigation. It might be thought at first view, that the interposition of these ameliorations or dressings between my crops will be too laborious, but observe that the turneps & two dressings of vetch do not cost a single ploughing. The turning in the wheat-stubble for the turneps is the fallow for the corn of the succeeding year. The 1st sowing of vetches is on the corn (as is now practised for wheat), and the turning it in is the flush-ploughing for the crop of potatoes & peas. The 2^d sowing of the vetch is on the wheat fallow, & the turning it in is the ploughing necessary for sowing the buckwheat. These three ameliorations, then, will cost but a harrowing each. On the subject of the drilled husbandry, I think experience has established it's preference for some plants, as the turnep, pea, bean, cabbage, corn, &c., and that of the broadcast for other plants as all the bread grains & grasses, except perhaps lucerne & S^t foin in soils & climates very productive of weeds. In dry soils & climates the broadcast is better for lucerne & S^t foin, as all the south of France can testify.

I have imagined and executed a mould-board which may be mathematically demonstrated to be perfect, as far as perfection depends on mathematical principles, and one great circumstance in it's favor is that it may be made by the most bungling carpenter, & cannot possibly vary a hair's breadth in it's form, but by gross negligence. You have seen the musical instrument called a sticcado. Suppose all it's sticks of equal length, hold the fore-end horizontally on the floor to receive the turf which presents itself horizontally, and with the right hand twist the hind-end to the perpendicular, or rather

as much beyond the perpendicular as will be necessary to cast over the turf completely. This gives an idea (tho not absolutely exact) of my mould-board. It is on the principle of two wedges combined at right angles, the first in the direct line of the furrow to raise the turf gradually, the other across the furrow to turn it over gradually. For both these purposes the wedge is the instrument of the least resistance. I will make a model of the mould-board & lodge it with Col^o Harvie in Richmond for you. This brings me to my thanks for the drill plough lodged with him for me, which I now expect every hour to receive, and the price of which I have deposited in his hands to be called for when you please. A good instrument of this kind is almost the greatest desideratum in husbandry. I am anxious to conjecture beforehand what may be expected from the sowing turneps in jaded ground, how much from the acre, & how large they will be? Will your experience enable you to give me a probable conjecture? Also what is the produce of potatoes, & what of peas in the same kind of ground? It must now have been several pages since you began to cry out 'mercy.' In mercy then I will here finish with my affectionate remembrance to my old friend Mr. Pendleton, & respects to your fireside, & to yourself assurances of the sincere esteem of, dear Sir,

Your friend & serv^t,

Mr. TAYLOR.

TH : JEFFERSON.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO THOMAS MANN RANDOLPH.

MONTICELLO, Nov. 28, '96.

It is so cold that the freezing of the ink on the point of my pen renders it difficult to write. We have had the thermometer at 12°. My works are arrested in a state entirely unfinished, & I fear we shall not be able to resume them. Clarke has sold our wheat in Bedford for 8/6 and

the rise to the 1st of June, with some other modifications. It appears to be a good sale. He preferred it to 10/6 certain, which was offered him. I think he was right as there is little appearance of any intermission of the war.

I thank you for your letter of news, and am glad to see the republican pre-eminence in our assembly. The paper you inclosed me presents a result entirely questionable, according to my own ideas of the subject. The preponderance of the McKean interest in the western counties of Pennsylvania is by no means so great as is there supposed. You will believe the true dispositions of my mind on that subject. It is not the less true, however, that I do sincerely wish to be the second on that vote rather than the first. The considerations which induce this preference are solid, whether viewed with relation to interest, happiness, or reputation. Ambition is long since dead in my mind. Yet even a well-weighed ambition would take the same side. My new threshing machine will be tried this week. P. Carr is on the point of marriage. All are well here, and join in the hope of your continuing so. Adieu.

PATRICK HENRY * TO WILSON C. NICHOLAS.†

To Wilson Cary Nicholas, Esq^r, in Richm^d.

RED-HILL, NOV^r. 29th, 1796.

DEAR SIR, — I feel myself under very great obligations to you for your letter which I rec^d. yesterday. The ap-

* Patrick Henry was born at Studley, Hanover County, Virginia, May 29, 1736, and died in Red Hill, Charlotte County, June 6, 1799. His life has been often written. The letter now printed no doubt refers to his election for the third time as Governor of Virginia, which office he declined. See letter of the same date in Wirt's *Life of Patrick Henry*, p. 388. — Eds.

† Wilson Cary Nicholas, a son of Robert Carter Nicholas, and one of the most conspicuous public men of his time in Virginia, was born in Hanover, Va., about 1757, and died at Milton, Oct. 10, 1820. He was a member of the United States Senate from 1799 to 1804, and of the House of Representatives from 1807 to 1809, and Governor of Virginia from 1814 to 1817. See *Appleton's Cyclopædia of American Biography*, vol. iv. p. 511; *Lanman's Biographical Annals of the Government of the United States*, p. 311. — Eds.

proving voice of my country which reaches me in this retirement is sweet & consolatory amidst those incidents which pester human life more or less, especially in its decline. This approbation is the highest reward a republican government can or ought to bestow, or a citizen desire or expect, — and I feel, by receiving it, full payment for my exertions such as they have been, & even if they had been very much greater & more beneficial to my country. But I do not understand fully what is the danger of the crisis spoken of. France no doubt wishes us to be in the war with her. Early in it I tho^t I saw a fine opening, but that is past. 'Tis too late for us to find any interest in taking part in it. If the rulers who for the time administer the affairs of republics do quarrel, war is not the consequence unless the people of both nations also quarrel. In our case some ships may be plundered, but surely war & fighting between Americans & Frenchmen cannot happen 'til human affairs have gone another round, & flowed in a new channel. The enemy we have to fear is the degeneracy, luxury, & vices of the present times. Let us be allied ag^t. these & we secure the happiness & liberty of our country. They will be short lived if the national manners do not undergo a change & become assimilated to the republican character.

I cannot enlarge as the express waits. I can only say that the right I exercise of staying at home will cease if violence is offered to our country or its rights.

I leave the office of Gov^r tendered to me in so handsome & honorable a manner, open for the admission of some one of the many citizens amongst us who can fill it with propriety. Adeiu, my dear Sir, & am

Your obliged servant,

P. HENRY.

Hurry stops me from enlarging.

W. C. NICHOLAS, Esq^r

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO JOHN TAYLOR.*

Free. Th : Jefferson. John Taylor, Esq. Caroline, to be lodged at the Bowling green.

TH: J. TO MR. TAYLOR.

MONTICELLO, Oct. 8, '97.

We have heard much here of an improvement made in the Scotch threshing machine by Mr. Martin, and that you have seen & approved it.† Being myself well acquainted with the original *geered* machine & Booker's substitution of *whirls & bands* (as I have one of each kind), it will perhaps give you but a little trouble to give me so much of an explanation as will be necessary to make me understand Martin's, and let it apply, if you please, to the movements by horses or by hand. I must ask the favor of you to get me one of the same drills you sent me before, made in the best manner, with a compleat set of bands & buckets, and packed in a box, in pieces, in the most compact manner the workman can do it, & forwarded to me at Philadelphia as soon after the meeting of Congress as possible. It is for a friend, & to go still further, which renders this mode of packing necessary. For the amount when you will make it known, I will either inclose you a bank bill from Philadelphia, or send it you in fine tea or anything else you please to order. How did your turnep seed answer? I have received from England, & also from Italy some seed of the winter vetch, a plant from which I expect a good deal. If it answers I will send you of the seed. I have also received all the good kinds of field pea from England, but I count a great deal more on our southern cow-pea. If you wish any of them, I will send you a part.

* Printed from the original in the Washburn Collection of Autographs given to the Society. — Eds.

† See the letter from Jefferson to Taylor, June 4, 1798, post, p. 61. — Eds.

I have not yet seen Hamilton's pamphlet;* but I understand that finding the streight between Scylla & Charybdis too narrow for his steerage, he has preferred running plump on one of them. In truth, it seems to work very hard with him; and his willingness to plead guilty as to the adultery seems rather to have strengthened than weakened the suspicions that he was in truth guilty of the speculations. Present me respectfully & affectionately to my old friend & file-leader, Mr. Pendleton, and accept yourself my friendly salutations & adieux.

P. S. Your answer by the 1st or 2^d post will find me here.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO EDMUND PENDLETON.†

PHILADELPHIA, Jan. 14, 1798.

DEAR SIR, — I recieved some time ago from Mr. Edmund Randolph a note signed by Mr. Lyons & yourself, undertaking to pay the amount of a decree of Royle's admrs v. yourselves as admrs of Robinson to Mr. Short or myself as his attorney. This undertaking is perfectly satisfactory, and I only wait your pleasure to be signified as to the time when and place where it may suit you to make the paiment. As it was to depend on the sale of stock I should suppose this the best market, but of this you will judge.

We receive this day through the public papers news by the way of Norfolk of some stern interrogatories put to our envoys by the French Directory. They look so like truth that they cannot fail to make an impression. We are

* The pamphlet referred to is the well-known "Observations on Certain Documents contained in No. v. & vi. of 'The History of the United States for the Year 1796,' in which the charge of speculation against Alexander Hamilton, late Secretary of the Treasury, is fully refuted. Written by Himself." — Eds.

† Printed from the original in the Washburn Collection of Autographs given to the Society. — Eds.

willing to hope that France will not push her resentments to a declaration of war, but we have not entire confidence in the moderation of certain people among ourselves. On the whole our situation is truly perilous. Congress is at present lying on it's oars. There is nothing of the least importance to be taken up. They will begin to-morrow to talk about Blount & Mr. Liston.* This may fill up some hours as well as lounging, and furnish something for the blank pages of their journals; but unless our envoys furnish us something to do, I do not see how we can contrive even the semblance of business through February.

I avail myself with great pleasure of this opportunity of recalling our antient recollections; and it has been with great satisfaction that I have heard from time to time of the great portion of health you have enjoyed & still enjoy. That it may continue thro all the years you wish is the prayer of, my dear Sir,

Your affectionate friend & serv^t,

TH: JEFFERSON.

Hon^{ble} EDMUND PENDLETON.

* William Blount, lately Governor of the Territory south of the Ohio, and a senator from Tennessee, was charged with having been engaged in a conspiracy for transferring New Orleans and the neighboring districts from the Spanish to the British. Upon information, furnished in part by Robert Liston, the British envoy to the United States from 1796 to 1802, which had been laid before Congress, the House of Representatives voted in July, 1797, to impeach him. Two days later, after hearing counsel, the Senate voted to expel him. This did not, however, end the matter, and in January, 1798, it was again brought before the House of Representatives, which proceeded to elect managers. It was not finally disposed of by the Senate until the end of that year. Blount died shortly afterward. See Hildreth's History of the United States, vol. v. pp. 88, 89, 187, 281, 282; Annals of Congress, 5th Congress, vols. i.-iii. *passim*; also the copy of a letter from Timothy Pickering to Rufus King, in the Pickering Papers, belonging to this Society, vol. xxxvii. leaves 196, 197. — EDS.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO JOHN TAYLOR.*

John Taylor, Caroline, near Port Royal.

TH: JEFFERSON TO J. TAYLOR.

PHILADELPHIA, June 4, '98.

I now inclose you Mr. Martin's patent.† A patent had actually been made out on the first description, and how to get this suppressed and another made for a second invention, without a second fee, was the difficulty. I practised a little art in a case where honesty was really on our side, & nothing against us but the rigorous letter of the law, and having obtained the 1st specification and got the 2^d put in its place, a second patent has been formed, which I now inclose with the first specification.

I promised you, long ago, a description of a mould board. I now send it; it is a press copy & therefore dim. It will be less so by putting a sheet of white paper behind the one you are reading. I would recommend to you first to have a model made of about 3 i. to the foot, or $\frac{1}{4}$ the real dimensions, and to have two blocks, the 1st of which, after taking out the pyramidal piece & sawing it crosswise above & below, should be preserved in that form to instruct workmen in making the large & real one. The 2^d block may be carried through all the operations, so as to present the form of the mould board complete. If I had an opportunity of sending you a model I would do it. It has been greatly approved here, as it has been before by some very good judges at my house, where I have used it for 5 years with entire approbation.

Mr. New shewed me your letter on the subject of the patent, which gave me an opportunity of observing what you said as to the effect with you of public proceedings,

* Printed from the original in the Washburn Collection of Autographs given to the Society. — Eds.

† A patent for a "wheat-thrashing machine" was issued to T. C. Martin, June 2, 1798. His residence is not given in the Index to the United States Patents. — Eds.

and that it was not unusual now to estimate the separate mass of Virginia and N. Carolina with a view to their separate existence. It is true that we are compleatly under the saddle of Massachusetts & Connecticut, and that they ride us very hard, cruelly insulting our feelings as well as exhausting our strength and substance. Their natural friends, the three other eastern States, join them from a sort of family pride, and they have the art to divide certain other parts of the Union so as to make use of them to govern the whole. This is not new. It is the old practice of despots to use a part of the people to keep the rest in order, and those who have once got an ascendancy and possessed themselves of all the resources of the nation, their revenues and offices, have immense means for retaining their advantages. But our present situation is not a natural one. The body of our countrymen is substantially republican through every part of the Union. It was the irresistible influence & popularity of Gen^l Washington, played off by the cunning of Hamilton, which turned the government over to anti-republican hands, or turned the republican members, chosen by the people, into anti-republicans. He delivered it over to his successor in this state, and very untoward events, since improved with great artifice, have produced on the public mind the impression we see; but still, I repeat it, this is not the natural state. Time alone would bring round an order of things more correspondent to the sentiments of our constituents; but are there not events impending which will do it within a few months? The invasion of England, the public and authentic avowal of sentiments hostile to the leading principles of our Constitution, the prospect of a war in which we shall stand alone, land-tax, stamp-tax, increase of public debt, &c. Be this as it may, in every free & deliberating society there must, from the nature of man, be opposite parties & violent dissensions & discords; and one of these, for

the most part, must prevail over the other for a longer or shorter time. Perhaps this party division is necessary to induce each to watch & delate to the people the proceedings of the other. But if on a temporary superiority of the one party, the other is to resort to a scission of the Union, no federal government can ever exist. If to rid ourselves of the present rule of Massachusetts & Connecticut we break the Union, will the evil stop there? Suppose the N. England States alone cut off, will our natures be changed? are we not men still to the south of that, & with all the passions of men? Immediately we shall see a Pennsylvania & a Virginia party arise in the residuary confederacy, and the public mind will be distracted with the same party spirit. What a game, too, will the one party have in their hands by eternally threatening the other that unless they do so & so, they will join their Northern neighbors. If we reduce our Union to Virginia & N. Carolina, immediately the conflict will be established between the representatives of these two States, and they will end by breaking into their simple units. Seeing, therefore, that an association of men who will not quarrel with one another is a thing which never yet existed, from the greatest confederacy of nations down to a town meeting or a vestry, seeing that we must have somebody to quarrel with, I had rather keep our New England associates for that purpose than to see our bickerings transferred to others. They are circumscribed within such narrow limits, & their population so full, that their numbers will ever be the minority, and they are marked, like the Jews, with such a peculiarity of character as to constitute from that circumstance the natural division of our parties. A little patience, and we shall see the reign of witches pass over, their spells dissolve, and the people, recovering their true sight, restore their government to it's true principles. It is true that in the mean time we are suffering

deeply in spirit, and incurring the horrors of a war & long oppressions of enormous public debt. But who can say what would be the evils of a scission, and when & where they would end? Better keep together as we are, hawl off from Europe as soon as we can, & from all attachments to any portions of it. And if we feel their power just sufficiently to hoop us together, it will be the happiest situation in which we can exist. If the game runs sometimes against us at home we must have patience till luck turns, & then we shall have an opportunity of winning back the *principles* we have lost, for this is a game where principles are the stake. Better luck, therefore, to us all; and health, happiness, & friendly salutations to yourself. Adieu.

P. S. It is hardly necessary to caution you to let nothing of mine get before the public. A single sentence, got hold of by the Porcupines, will suffice to abuse & persecute me in their papers for months.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO THOMAS MANN RANDOLPH.

PHILADELPHIA, Jan. 17, 99.

I wrote to my dear Martha Dec. 27, and to yourself Jan. 3. I am afraid my nailery will stop from the want of rod. 3 tons were sent from hence Dec. 11. The vessel was blown off the capes and deserted by the crew. She has been taken up at sea and carried into Albemarle Sound. We are in hopes, however, of getting off another supply from here immediately as the river bids fair to open. The shutting of the river has prevented any tob°. coming here as yet; so nothing is known about price. At New York the new tob°. is 13 Doll. Georgia has sent a much larger quantity there than had been expected, & of such a quality as to place it next to the Virginia. It is at 11 D. while the tob°. of the Carolinas & Maryland are

but 10 D. I suspect that the price will be at it's maximum this year. Whether that will be more than 13 D. I do not know, but I think it will. When this city comes into the market, it must greatly increase the demand. We know too that immense sums of cash are gone & going on to Virginia, such as were never before heard of. Every stage is loaded. Some pretend here it is merely to pay for last year's tob^o., but we know that that was in a considerable degree paid for; & I have no doubt that a great part of this money is to purchase the new crop. If I were offered 13 D. in Richmond, perhaps I should take it, for the sake of securing certain objects, but my judgment would condemn it. Wheat here is 1.75. D^r. Bache sets out for our neighborhood next month early, having concluded absolutely to settle there. He is now breaking up his house and beginning to pack. D^r. Logan tells me Dupont de Nemours is coming over, and decided to settle in our neighborhood. I always considered him as the ablest man in France. I ordered Bache's papers for you from Jan. 1.* The moment I can get answers from the Postmasters of Charlottesville & Milton to letters I wrote them a fortnight ago, we shall have the error of our mail corrected. It will turn out, I believe, to have taken place here by making up the mail a day too late, which occasioned a loss of a week at Fredericksburg. The bankrupt bill was yesterday rejected in the H. of R. by a majority of 3. Logan's law will certainly pass.† Nobody mistakes the object of it. The forgery they attempted to palm on the house, of a memorial falsely pretended to have been

* The "Aurora," which violently opposed the administrations of Washington and Adams, was published by Benjamin Franklin Bache, a grandson of Dr. Franklin. — Eds.

† The act here referred to was passed Jan. 30, 1799, and made it a criminal offence, punishable by a fine and imprisonment, for any citizen of the United States, without the permission of his own government, to carry on any verbal or written correspondence or intercourse with any foreign government or its agents in regard to any disputes with the United States. The act was occasioned by some unauthorized communications made to the French government by Dr. George Logan, afterward a Senator of the United States from Pennsylvania. See Appleton's Cyclopædia of American Biography, vol. iv. p. 4. — Eds.

drawn & presented by Logan, is so completely detected, as to have thrown infamy on the whole proceeding, but a majority will still go through with it. The army & navy are steadily pursued. The former, with our old troops, will make up about 14,000 men, and consequently cost annually 7 millions of dollars. The navy will cost annually $5\frac{1}{2}$ millions, but as it will not be on foot, no addition to the direct tax will be made at this session, nor perhaps at the next. It is very evident from circumstances that a window tax is intended. A loan for 5 millions is opened at 8 per cent. The extravagance of the interest will occasion it to fill. This it is supposed will build the navy. Our taxes bring in this year $10\frac{1}{2}$ millions clear, and the direct tax will add 2 millions. According to the principles settled by a (British) majority of the commissioners under the treaty, that demand will be from 15 to 20 millions of D., but there is some reason to suppose our government will not yield to it. In that case they must recur to new negotiations. Notwithstanding the forgeries of London, Vienna, & Constantinople, it is believed that Buonaparte will establish himself in Egypt, & that that is, for the present at least, his ultimate object. Also that the insurrection in Ireland is in force & better organized than before. My warmest love to my dear Martha & the little ones; to yourself affectionate salutations & Adieu.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO JOHN TAYLOR.*

John Taylor, Esquire, of Caroline, now in Richmond.

MONTICELLO, Nov. 26, 1799.

DEAR SIR, — Mr Wirt, who is of my neighborhood, offers himself a candidate for the clerkship of the H. of Repr., and being known to few of the members, his friends

* Printed from the original in the Washburn Collection of Autographs given to this Society. — Eds.

are naturally anxious that what may be said of him with truth should be said.* I only fulfill a duty, therefore, when I bear testimony in this as I would in any other case. He has lived several years my near neighbor, having married the daughter of the late Dr Gilmer. He is a person of real genius and information, one of the ablest at the bars in this part of the country, amiable & worthy in his private character, & in his republicanism most zealous & active. This information is given you in order that having equal knowledge of the other candidates you may be enabled to satisfy your own mind by chusing the best.

For some years past there has been a project on foot for making a more direct road across this State for those travelling between the North & South. It is only necessary to open it in parts, as there are already roads through a great proportion of the way. It is to lead from Georgetown by Stevensburg, Norman's ford, the Raccoon ford, Martin King's ford, the mouth of Slate River, to the High bridge on Appamattox, from whence the present roads southwardly suffice. It will shorten the line across this State probably 50 miles, is calculated on the precise object of avoiding all hills, but at the crossing of the principal watercourses, and will undoubtedly be the best road for the principal mail between the North & South. This matter will be before you this session, and will be worthy your attention.

Some schismatic appearances and other political circumstances will render it necessary for us perhaps to adapt our conduct to their improvement. But I cease from this time during the ensuing twelvemonth to write political letters, knowing that a campaign of slander is now to open

* William Wirt, the eminent lawyer, was born in Bladensburg, Md., Nov. 8, 1772, and died in Washington, D. C., Feb. 18, 1834. He began his legal career in Virginia, and in 1795 he was married to the daughter of Dr. George Gilmer. She died in 1799, and he removed to Richmond, and was elected Clerk of the House of Delegates. His legal knowledge, his eloquence, and his rare ability in argument placed him in the foremost rank of American lawyers. See Appleton's Cyclopædia of American Biography, vol. vi. pp. 578, 579. — Eds.

upon me, & believing that the postmasters will lend their inquisitorial aid to fish out any new matter of slander they can to gratify the powers that be. I hope my friends will understand & approve the motives of my silence. Health, happiness, & affectionate salutations.

TH: JEFFERSON.

JOHN TAYLOR, Esq.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO THOMAS MANN RANDOLPH.

Feb. 4, 1800.

YOUR's of Jan. 18 never reached me till this day, so that it has loitered a week somewhere. Our post going out to-morrow morning, I hasten to answer it. My anxiety to get my lands rented is extreme. I readily agree therefore that Mr Kerr shall take for 5 years, or say till Christmas, 1804, the oblong, square field, and the one on the river next below the square field, comprehending the orchard; only I should be very urgent that he should take a compleat field there; for I expect there is enough between the river and the road by old Hickman's settlement to make 2 fields of 40 a^s. each, by cleaning up & straitening the skirts, perhaps by cutting down some slips on the margin. For so much as would be to clear I would take no rent the 1st year. He would then have the 3 fields in a line on the river, and three other fields would remain along the road to the triangle inclusive for another tenant. Observe I must have with him, as I have with Mr Peyton, free passage along the roads; that is to say, along the road which used to be, & must be again, down the river side. All the conditions to be the same as with Mr Peyton. I say I wish him to be pushed to the taking the 120 acres; yet, rather than lose a tenant, I would agree to the hundred acres, to wit, the oblong, square & half the lower field. But you are sensible he would get by that means a great over-proportion of cream, & therefore I wish to force on him the other half field.

Buonaparte's operations begin to wear a somewhat better aspect. It seems as if he meant a republic of some sort; therefore we are encouraged by the strength of his head to hope he calculates correctly how much superior is the glory of establishing a republic to that of wearing a crown. But still we must suspend our judgments a little longer. My first letter from Mr Eppes gave me a little hope of the child's doing well. One recieved to-day announces it's death. It appears, as we might expect, a severe affliction to both.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO THOMAS MANN RANDOLPH.

PHILADELPHIA, Mar. 4, 1800.

DEAR SIR, — I wrote you last on the 17th of February. Since that I learn by a letter from Richmond that Martha is with her sister. My last letter from Eppington was of the 16th of Feb., when Maria was hoped to be in fair way of speedy recovery. The continuance of the non intercourse law for another year and the landing of our commissioners at Lisbon, have placed the opening of the French market (where at Bourdeaux tob°. was selling at 25 to 27 D. p^r Cwt. Dec. 7) at such a distance that I thought it better to sell our tob°. at N. York. Remsen had informed me in January that no more than 6 D. could then be got for it, and it has been falling since; and Lieper offering to take it there at 6 D. payable in 60 days, I struck with him; and thus ends this tragedy by which we have both lost so much. I observe Tarina advertised; how does that matter stand? There have been no new failures here or at New York, but at Baltimore very great ones weekly. We are entirely without news of the further proceedings in Paris. Buonaparte seems to be given up by almost everyone. The caucus election bill for President & V. P. will certainly pass the Senate

by the usual majority of 2 to 1; an amendment will be proposed to shew the sense of the minority. This may perhaps, however, be taken up by the other house with a better chance of success; in order to lessen the necessary loan, they put off building the 74^s a year, which, with the saving by stopping enlistments, reduces the loan to $3\frac{1}{2}$ millions; but whether even that can be got at 8 per cent is very doubtful. Wheat is at 2.13 here, and is likely to be very high through the year, as Europe will want generally. I think I shall fix my price with Mr Higginbotham at about the middle of April. I have not heard how it is at Richmond. Key's money was sent on to Richmond Jan. 30. Yet on the 20th of Feb. (3 weeks after) he seems not to have heard of it. Kiss all the little ones for me, and accept sincere & cordial salutations from

Your's affectionately,

TH : JEFFERSON.

LITTLETON W. TAZEWELL * TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Thomas Jefferson, Esq., Philadelphia.

KINGS-MILL, March 29th, 1800.

DEAR SIR,—I have no occasion to say to you any thing more relative to the payments of the several instalments of M^r. Wayles's debt due to M^r. Welch's house. Your conduct as to this affair has been such as I expected, & for his sake I could wish the other creditors could feel the same sentiments which have actuated you. For myself, I have to repeat that whenever your convenience will permit it, without injury, the payment will be ex-

* Littleton W. Tazewell was born in Williamsburg, Virginia, Dec. 17, 1774, graduated at William and Mary College in 1792, and was admitted to the bar in 1796. He was a member of the United States House of Representatives from 1799 to 1801, and of the Senate from 1824 to 1832, and Governor of Virginia from 1834 to 1836. He died at Norfolk, Virginia, March 6, 1860. See Appleton's *Cyclopædia of American Biography*, vol. vi. pp. 56, 57; Lanman's *Biographical Annals*, p. 420. — EDS.

pected. Until then it ought not to be asked, & when this period shall arrive, to you I know a request will not be necessary.

I find among Mr. Welch's papers an open account against you for the sum of £87 4 sterling due on the 17th Nov^r, 1774. I know not whether this claim against you *individually* was taken into account at the settlement of Mr Wayles's debt with Co'l'o Skipwith, Mr. Eppes, & yourself. I have, too, some faint recollection that the former agent mention'd to me a payment had been made by you to old Mr. Welch directly, but whether that payment was partial or in full, or under what circumstances it was made, I know not. Will you therefore be so good, Sir, as to inform me on these points for my own satisfaction & justification? Was this account included in your bonds? Have you not paid while in Europe the whole, or what part of this claim? Excuse these inquiries, if you please, but my situation is such as compels me to make them.

I cannot forbear the expression of my thanks to you for the enclosure you sent; well, indeed, is it "worth perusing." I have to regret only that some of the subjects are not discussed in a style and manner which would be better fitted to the capacities of the bulk of the people, for surely it is of the last importance that subjects in which every member of society is so immediately interested should be treated, if possible, so plainly as to be generally understood & yet so briefly as to be easily remember'd. The author, altho' he has been aware of this truth, & has written in a manner less exceptionable in this respect than most of the writers of this class, has not yet, I think, attained the object which is so much to be desired. Perhaps, however, the nature of the subject itself does not permit it. His efforts, however, are laudable & deserve the thanks of the community.

I have seen the bankrupt law as it has passed the

House of Representatives. To the people of the Southern States it gives a stab of which they are yet unconscious. Here, where there are few or no banks, where the population is thin, the wants of the people limited & chiefly supplied within themselves, property which is certainly to be sold never commands its value; the scarcity, too, of money, added to other causes, places the debtor almost at any time completely in the power of his creditor, even under that system which our own legislature has provided, & which in many respects considers the situation of the debtor such as I have described it; but the bankrupt law, whilst it strips him of these advantages, adds also to the unfortunate causes that drag the honest & even wealthy man to ruin. Who, too, it may be well asked, are those creditors who deserve at our hands such favors, & who the debtors whose conduct merits such punishment? The former generally foreigners, merchants, speculators; the latter the honest yeomanry of the country, plants of its own produce, nurtured entirely by its own soil, & attached to it by every cause that nature can create. Protection to commerce & speculation & destruction to agriculture & industry, however, have long been the orders of the day. In the construction of this law I do suppose (whatever its advocates may say) but one opinion can be held: when you use almost the same words with the British statute, you must have used them with the same intent; what that intent was, & how comprehensive the words are, the British judges have long & often fixed. With this law & these decisions before the legislature at the time it passed, who can doubt what must have been their object? Perhaps, however, even this act, pernicious as its consequences will be, may be ultimately beneficial; the cup of forbearance was almost full, "this crowns its utmost brim." The people will soon (in spite of the loans intended to lull them into rest) feel the oppression of enormous taxation; when strip'd

by the tax-gatherer almost to nakedness, a creditor comes in & robs them of their all under a bankrupt law; they must murmur against the authors of their misfortunes, & a Sedition Law punishes them for their audacity. They will not reason till they feel, but ill betides the punisher when the stripes begin to [*torn*].

Pardon, I beseech you, Sir, this long letter; it has grown unknowingly & unintentionally; I will not add to its tediousness by an apology, but trust it rather to your goodness.

With much esteem & respect,

I am your mo. obdt. serv^t.,

LITTⁿ W. TAZEWELL.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO THOMAS MANN RANDOLPH.

PHILADELPHIA, Apr. 4, 1800.

I wrote you last on the 31st of Mar., since which I have recieved G. Jefferson's of Mar. 22, acknoleging the reciept of the last 270 D. making 1870 D. in all. Mr. Ross's Kitt, setting out for Charlottesville where he has a cause to be tried with James Ross, and apprehending from him some personal assault, has asked me to interest some person to ensure him the protection of the laws. I have promised to write to yourself, P. Carr, & Col^o. Bell, to have an eye to him, merely because he desires it, tho' I assured him he would be protected by every one. He furnishes me an earlier occasion of writing to you than by post.

Capt. Barry, in the frigate U. S., arrived last night from Corunna. Our envoys* landed Nov. 27 at Lisbon, from whence their secretaries proceeded by land to Paris.

* Oliver Ellsworth, William R. Davie, and William Vans Murray had been appointed by President Adams envoys extraordinary to the French Republic. The two former sailed from Newport, R. I., about the first of November, 1799, in the frigate *United States*. The latter was then in Europe. See *Life and Works of John Adams*, vol. ix. pp. 39, 162, 251. — Eds.

The principals reimbarcked Dec. 21 for Lorient, but after long beating against contrary winds in the Bay of Biscay they landed at Corunna Jan. 11, & sent a courier to Paris for their passports. They proceeded to Burgos & here recieved their passports from Paris, with a letter from Taleyrand expressing a desire to see them at Paris, and assuring them that the form of their credentials addressed to the Directory, would be no obstacle to their negociation. Murray was already at Paris. The letters from our envoys to the Executive, brought by Cap^t Barry, are dated at Burgos, Feb. 10. They would have about [*illegible*] to Paris, where they will have arrived probably about the 1st. week in March, & by the 1st week of May we may expect to hear of their reception. The frigate Portsmouth is about sailing from N. York to France, the object a secret. The Senate yesterday rejected Mr Pinckney's bill against appointing judges to any other offices; & to-day they have rejected a bill from the H. of R. which forbade military troops to be at the place of election on any day of election. A warrant has been issued to commit Duane,* but he has not yet been found. The President has nominated a third Major Gen^l. (Brookes of Massachusets) to our 4000 men, and 204 promotions & appointments of officers are now before the Senate for approbation, so there will be 16 regiments of officers & 4 or 5 of souldiers. Dupont de Nemours has been here from N. York on a visit. He will settle there or at Alexandria. He promises me a visit this summer with Mad^e Dupont. I think we shall rise the 1st or 2^d week in May. I have recieved the grateful news of Maria's recovery, and am to go by Eppington or Montblanco to carry her to Monticello with me. I shall by next post write to Richardson the day my horses are to meet me there, all three; and expect him to engage David Bowles to go

* William Duane, editor of the "Aurora," the principal organ of the Republicans.—Eds.

with them. Not knowing whether Martha is yet returned home, I can only deliver my love to her provisionally, and my affectionate salutations to yourself. Adieu.

P. S. You have not informed me where your brother's newspapers are to be directed.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO EDMUND PENDLETON.*

PHILADELPHIA, Apr. 19, 1800.

DEAR SIR, — My duties here require me to possess exact knowledge of parliamentary proceedings. While a student I read a good deal, & commonplacéd what I read on this subject.† But it is now 20 years since I was a member of a parliamentary body, so that I am grown rusty. So far, indeed, as books go, my commonplace has enabled me to retrieve, but there are many minute practices, which being in daily use in Parliament, & therefore supposed known to every one, were never noticed in their books. These practices were, I dare say, the same we used to follow in Virginia, but I have forgot even our practices. Besides these, there are minute questions arising frequently as to the mode of amending, putting questions, &c., which the books do not inform us of. I have, from time to time, noted these queries, and keeping them in view have been able to get some of them satisfied, & struck them off my list, but I have a number of them still remaining unsatisfied. However unwilling to disturb your repose, I am so anxious to perform the functions of my office with exact regularity that I have determined to throw myself on your friendship and to ask your aid in solving as many of my doubts

* This letter is printed from the original in the collection of autographs given to the Society by Mr. and Mrs. A. C. Washburn. — Eds.

† The commonplace book here referred to is probably a small and very neatly written volume, marked on the fly-leaf "Parliamentary Note-Book," now in the possession of this Society. — Eds.

as you can. I have written them down, leaving a broad margin in which I only ask the favor of you to write yea, or nay, opposite to the proposition, which will satisfy me. Those which you do not recollect, do not give yourself any trouble about. Do it only at your leisure. If this should be before the 9th of May, your return of the papers may find me here till the 16th; if after that, be so good as to direct them to me at Monticello.

I have no foreign news but what you see in the papers. Duane & Cooper's trials come on to-day. Such a selection of jurors has been made by the marshal as ensures the event. The same may be said as to Fries, &c., and also as to the sheriff and justices, who in endeavoring to arrest Sweeny, the horse thief, got possession of his papers, & sent them to the Chief Justice & Governor, among which papers were Mr. Liston's letter to the Governor of Canada, printed we know not by whom. We have not yet heard the fate of Holt, editor of the Bee, in Connecticut. A printer in Vermont is prosecuted for reprinting Mr. McHenry's letter to Gen^l Darke. Be so good as to present my respects to Mrs. Pendleton, and friendly salutations to Mr. Taylor, & accept yourself assurances of constant & affectionate esteem.

TH: JEFFERSON.

Hon^{ble} E. PENDLETON.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO THOMAS MANN RANDOLPH.

PHILADELPHIA, May 7, 1800.

Yours of Apr. 26 came to hand the 2^d inst. We have recieved information, not absolutely to be relied on, that our envoys are arrived at Paris and were recieved with peculiar favor. I have seen a letter from a person there of the best information, dated in January, that the dispositions of the present government were so favorable that a *carte blanche* would be given to our envoys & that

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it would not be in their power to avoid a settlement. The New York city election has resulted in favor of the republican ticket. I inclose you a state of it. This is considered by both parties as deciding the legislative majority in that State, without taking into account what we shall gain in the country elections. The Federalists do not conceal their despair on this event. They held a caucus on Saturday night, and have determined on some hocus-pocus manoeuvres by running Gen^l. Charles C. Pinckney with Mr Adams to draw off South Carolina, and to make impression on N. Carolina. We still count on rising on the 12th; perhaps we may be a day or two later, tho' it is generally expected otherwise. I shall not set out till the day, or day after, we rise.

You were not mistaken in your first idea that your tobacco was nearly sufficient for the paiment to G. Jefferson. I paid him 1870 D. Your Philadelphia tob^o came to 1537.325 and the N. York supposed about 280 D. This, when it all comes in, will consequently be within a few dollars of what I paid; and as to the delay, I have apologised for that to those for whom my money was destined. A little before I left Monticello I attempted a statement of our account. But we had let it run so long that it called for more time than I had left. I therefore brought on the materials here, & have stated it except as to one or two articles which need enquiry. I do not believe there will be a balance of 10 D. either way, including every thing I know of to the present moment. The money, therefore, in Mr Jefferson's hands, which you destined for me, is free for other purposes. I sincerely wish I were able to aid you in the embarrassments you speak of. But tho' I have been wiping out Mr. Wayles's old scores it has been impossible to me to avoid some new ones. The profits of my Bedford estate have gone for this purpose, and the unprofitable state of Albemarle has kept me in a constant struggle. There is a

possible sale which might enable me to aid you, and nothing could be so pleasing to me, but it is only possible. I would wish you, however, to avoid selling any thing as long as you can, to give time for this possibility. These things, however, will be better explained in conversation. Present my constant love to my dear Martha & the little ones, and accept assurances of the most affectionate attachment to yourself. Adieu.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO THOMAS MANN RANDOLPH.

WASHINGTON, Sunday even^g. Nov. 30, 1800.

Davy will set out in the morning on his return with the horses. I will endeavor before he goes to get one of Hamilton's pamphlets for you, which are to be sold here. Bishop's pamphlet on political delusions has not yet reached the bookstores here.* It is making wonderful progress, and is said to be the best anti-republican eye-water which has ever yet appeared. A great impression of them is making at Philadelphia to be forwarded here. From abroad we have no news. At home, the election is the theme of all conversation. Setting aside Pensva., Rhode isl^d, & S. Carolina, the Federal scale will have from the other States 53 votes and the Republicans 58. Both parties count with equal confidence on Rho. isl^d & S. Carolina. Pensva. stands little chance for a vote. The majority of 2 in their Senate is immoveable. In that case, the issue of the election hangs on S. Carola. It is believed Pinckney will get a complete vote with Mr Adams from 4 of the New Engl^d. States, from Jersey, Delaware, & Maryland, probably also N. Carolina. Congress seem conscious they have nothing [to do?]; the

* The reference is to Abraham Bishop's "Connecticut Republicanism: an Oration on the Extent and Power of Political Delusion, delivered in New Haven on the evening preceding the Public Commencement, September, 1800." It passed through several editions. — Eds.

territorial government here & the additional judiciary system [being?] the only things which can be taken up. The Feds do not appear very strong in the H. of R. They divided on the address only 35 against 32. We are better accommodated here than we expected to be, and not a whisper or thought in any mortal of attempting a removal. This evident solidity to the establishment will give a wonderful spring to buildings here the next season. My warmest affection to my ever dear Martha, kisses to the young ones, and sincere & affectionate attachment to yourself. Adieu.

P. S. Mr. Brown called on me to-day. The family is well. I forgot to mention to him that Davy could carry letters to Mr. Trist & family.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO THOMAS MANN RANDOLPH.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 5, 1800.

You are probably anxious to hear of the election, and indeed it is the only thing of which any thing is said here, and little known even of it. The only actual vote known to us is that of this State. 5 for A. & P. and 5 for J. & B. Those who know the Pensva. legislature best agree in the certainty of their having no vote. Rhode isl^d. has carried the Fed^l. ticket of electors by about 200 in the whole State. Putting Pensva., S. C., and Pinckney out of view, the votes will stand 57 for J. & 58 for A. So that S. Carola will decide between these two. As to Pinckney it is impossible to foresee how the juggle will work. It is confidently said that Massachusetts will withhold 7 votes from him, but little credit is due to reports where every man wishes are so warmly [*illegible*]. If the Federal electors of the other States go through with the caucus compact, there is little doubt that S. C. will make him the President. Their other vote is very uncertain. This is every thing

known to us at present. The post which will arrive here on the 15th. inst. will bring us the actual vote of S. C. The members here are generally well accommodated. About a dozen lodge in Georgetown from choice, there being lodgings to be had here if they preferred it. Every body is well satisfied with the place, and not a thought indulged of ever leaving it. It is therefore solidly established and this being now seen it will take a rapid spring. My tenderest love to my dear Martha & the young ones. Affectionate & warm attachment to yourself. Adieu.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO THOMAS MANN RANDOLPH.

Dec. 12, 1800.

I believe we may consider the election as now decided. Letters received from Columbia (S. C.), this morning & dated Dec. 2, which was the day for appointing their electors, announce that the Republican ticket carried it by majorities of from 13 to 18. The characters named are firm & were to elect on the next day. It was intended that one vote should be thrown away from Col^o. Burr. It is believed Georgia will withhold from him one or two. The votes will stand probably T. J. 73, Burr about 70, Mr. Adams 65. Pinckney probably lower than that. It is fortunate that some difference will be made between the two highest candidates, because it is said the Feds here held a caucus & came to a resolution that in the event of their being equal they would prevent an election, which they could have done by dividing the H. of R. My tender love to my dear Martha & the little ones. Sincere affection to yourself.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO THOMAS MANN RANDOLPH.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 9, 1801.

DEAR SIR, — Your favor of the 3^d came to hand yesterday. I suspect that I mistook our post day when I first arrived here and put the letters you mention into the post-office a day too late. I shall be glad if you will mention when that of the 1st instant gets to you as well as the present & future letters, that if there be any thing wrong in the post I may get it rectified. The mail for Milton is made up here on Friday at 5 P. M. That Craven's house should not have been in readiness surprises me. I left I. Perry's people putting up the last course of shingles & the plank for the floor & loft planed, & they assured me they could finish every thing in a week. They must have quit immediately. But the most extraordinary of all things is that there should have been no clearing done. I left Monticello on Monday the 24th Nov., from which time there were 4 weeks to Christmas, and the hands ordered to be with Lilly that morning (except, I think, two), and according to his calculation & mine 3 or 4 acres a week should have been cleared. But the misunderstanding between him & Richardson had before cost me as good as all the labour of the hired hands from Jan^y. to June when I got home. The question now, however, is as to the remedy. You have done exactly what I would have wished, and as I place the compliance with my contract with Mr Craven before any other object, we must take every person from the nailery able to cut and keep them at it till the clearing is completed. The following, therefore, must be so employed: Davy, John, Abram, Shepherd, Moses, Joe, Wormly, Jame Hubbard, with the one hired by Lilly, making 9. Besides these, if Barnaby, Ben, Cary, & Isabel's Davy are able to cut, as I suppose they are, let

them also join; shoemaker Phill also if he can cut. I doubt it, & that he had better continue to be hired. These make 13 or 14, with whom the clearing which I was to do this year ought not to be a long job. There will remain for the nailery Burwell, Jamy, Bedf. John, Bedf. Davy, Phill Hub., Lewis, Bartlet, & Brown, enough for two fires. This course I would have pursued even after Powell's arrival, as I had rather [*illegible*] his department, where the loss concerns myself only than one which affects another. I wrote pressingly to Mr Eppes to hire some hands for me, and am not without hopes he may have done it. If they arrive, I would still not draw off the nailers till the clearing is completed. I wrote to Lilly yesterday covering an order for some money. I had not then received your letter, so the one to him says nothing on this subject. I must, therefore, get the favor of you to deliver him the orders.

Nothing further can be said or discovered on the subject of the election. We have 8 votes in the H. of R. certain, & there are 3 other States, Maryl¹., Delaware, & Vermont, from either of which if a single individual comes over it settles the matter. But I am far from confiding that a single one will come over. Pennsylvania has shown what men are when party takes place of principle. The Jersey election has been a great event. But nothing seems to bend the spirit of our opponents. I believe they will carry their judiciary bill. As to the treaty, I must give no opinion. But it must not be imagined that any thing is too bold for them. I had expected that some respect to the palpable change in public opinion would have produced moderation, but it does not seem to. A com̃tee reported that the Sedition Law ought to be continued, and the first question on the subject in the House has been carried by 47 against 33. We have a host of Republicans absent. Gallatin, Livingston, Nicholson, Tazewell, Cabell, cum multis aliis. The mercantile towns

are almost unanimous in favour of the treaty.* Yet it seems not to soften their friends in the Senate. I received notices from Dick Johnson to attend the taking depositions in Milton on the 2^d Saturday in Feb. and the 2^d Saturday in March at Mr Price's. I do not expect his witnesses have any thing material to say. However, if it should not be inconvenient to you to ride there at the hour of 12 and to ask any questions which may be necessary to produce the whole truth, I shall be obliged to you. My unchangeable and tenderest love to my ever dear Martha and to the little ones: affectionate attachment to yourself. Adieu.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO THOMAS MANN RANDOLPH.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 23, 1801.

Your's of the 17th reached this on the 21st, from Saturday to Wednesday. This will leave this place to-morrow (Saturday, the 24th), and ought to be with you on Thursday, the 29th, but it seems that a week is lost somewhere. I suspect the Fredsburg rider leaves that place an hour or two before the Northern post reaches it. On this subject I will this day write to the Postmaster Gen^l. I am sincerely concerned for the misfortune to poor Holmes. I have not yet seen his father on the subject, who is a clerk in the Register's office here. Lewis must continue under Mr. Dinsmore, in order to expedite that work. I will very willingly undertake to pay Gibson & Jefferson for you £135, but I must take from 40 to 70 days for it, having nothing at my disposal sooner. I am not sure of being able to do it at the 1st term (March 1), but possibly may. At the 2^d (Apr. 1), they will have the money in their own hands for my tob^o. sold & payable then, but do not consider this as engaging your hands. If you can

* The treaty which had been negotiated with France by the envoys sent out by Mr. Adams. See Life and Works of John Adams, vol. ix. pp. 241-310. — Eds.

employ them more advantageously for yourself than by hiring, do it. If not, we will take any which you had rather hire than employ at what we are to pay for others. My former letter will have conveyed to you my wish that the nailers able to cut should be so employed; and I have written to Mr. Eppes that I am indifferent whether Powell comes till the 1st of April. I shall then be at home, and shall engage Whateley to undertake to build the new shop, out & out, on his own terms, immediately. I forgot to ask the favor of you to speak to Lilly as to the treatment of the nailers. It would destroy their value, in my estimation, to degrade them in their own eyes by the whip. This, therefore, must not be resorted to but in extremities; as they will be again under my government, I would chuse they should retain the stimulus of character. After Lilly shall have compleated the clearing necessary for this year for Mr. Craven, I would have him go on with what will be wanting for him the next year, that being my most important object. The building of the negro houses should be done whenever Mr. Craven prefers it; as all the work is for him, he may arrange it. I will thank you to continue noting the day of the receipt of my letters, that I may know whether the postmaster corrects the mismanagement.

We continue as uncertain as ever as to the event of an election by the H. of R. Some appearances are favorable, but they may be meant to throw us off our guard. Mr. Adams is entirely for their complying with the will of the people. Hamilton the same. The mercantile or paper interest also. Still, the individuals who are to decide will decide according to their own desires. The Jersey election damps them, so does the European intelligence, but their main body is still firm & compact. My tenderest love to my dear Martha. I wrote to her the last week. Kisses to all the little ones, and affectionate attachments to yourself. Adieu.

P. S. When I come home I shall lay off the canal, if Lilly's gang can undertake it. I had directed Lilly to make a dividing fence between Craven's fields at Monticello & those I retain. The object was to give me the benefit of the latter for pasture. If I stay here, the yard will be pasture enough and may spare, or at least delay, this great & perishable work of the dividing fence. At least it may lie for further consideration. I hope Lilly keeps the small nailers engaged so as to supply our customers in the neighborhood, so that we may not lose them during this interregnum. Mr. Higginbotham, particularly, & Mr. Kelly, should be attended to.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO MARTHA JEFFERSON RANDOLPH.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 26, 1801.

MY DEAR MARTHA, — I wrote to Mr. Randolph on the 9th & 10th inst., and yesterday recieved his letter of the 10th. It gave me great joy to learn that Lilly had got a recruit of hands from Mr. Allen, tho' still I would not have that prevent the taking all from the nailery who are able to cut, as I desired in mine of the 9th, as I wish Craven's ground to be got ready for him without any delay. Mr. Randolph writes me you are about to wean Cornelia; this must be right & proper. I long to be in the midst of the children, and have more pleasure in their little follies than in the wisdom of the wise. Here, too, there is such a mixture of the bad passions of the heart that one feels themselves in an enemy's country. It is an unpleasant circumstance, if I am destined to stay here, that the great proportion of those of the place who figure are federalists, and most of them of the violent kind. Some have been so personally bitter that they can never forgive me, tho' I do them with sincerity. Perhaps in time they will get tamed. Our prospect as to the elec-

tion has been alarming; as a strong disposition exists to prevent an election, & that case not being provided for by the Constitution, a dissolution of the government seemed possible. At present there is a prospect that some, tho' federalists, will prefer yielding to the wishes of the people rather than have no government. If I am fixed here, it will be but three easy days' journey from you, so that I should hope you & the family could pay an annual visit here at least; which with mine to Monticello of the spring & fall, might enable us to be together 4 or 5 months of the year. On this subject, however, we may hereafter converse, lest we should be counting chickens before they are hatched. I inclose for Anne a story, too long to be got by heart but worth reading. Kiss them all for me, and keep them in mind of me. Tell Ellen I am afraid she has forgotten me. I shall probably be with you the first week in April, as I shall endeavor to be at our court for that month. Continue to love me, my dear Martha, and be assured of my unalterable and tenderest love to you. Adieu.

TH : JEFFERSON.

P. S. Hamilton is using his uttermost influence to procure my election rather than Col^o. Burr's.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO THOMAS MANN RANDOLPH.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 29 [1801].

Yours of the 24th came to hand last night. On application to the Postmaster Gen^l. it seems that I should have put my letters into the office here on the Thursday instead of Friday. This accordingly goes to the office this day, which is Thursday, and therefore ought to get to you on Thursday next. It may very likely, therefore, go with my letter of the 23^d.

I am very glad indeed to find that Lilly has got so strong a gang, independant of yours & the nailers. With respect to yours, I wish you to do exactly what is most for your own interest, either keeping them yourself or putting any of them with mine as best suits your own convenience. I still think it will be better that such of the nailers as may be able to handle the axe should be employed with it till April, that is to say, till Powell comes. It will be useful to them morally and physically, and I have work enough of that kind with the canal & road to give them full employment. Perhaps, as the blowing to be done in the canal will be tedious, it might be worth while to keep Joe & Wormely employed on that in all good weather; if you think so, they should work separately, as I think that one hand to hold the auger & one to strike is throwing away the labour of one. There should be force enough kept in the nailery to supply our standing customers. There is another reason for employing only the weaker hands in the nailery. I do not believe there is rod to employ the whole any length of time, and none can be got to them till April. I should be glad Mr. Lilly or Mr. Dinsmore would count the faggots on hand, & inform me of the quantity by return of post, as I have forgotten the state of the supplies on hand when I left home. Mr. Wilson Nicholas and myself have this day joined in ordering clover seed from New York, where it is to be had, it is said, at 12 dollars. I have ordered 5 bushels for you. I believe I have none to sow myself. Mr. Jefferson informs me two small casks of wine are forwarded for me to Milton. Out of this I wish you to take what I borrowed of you, and I will be thankful to you to inform me as soon as you can of the size of the casks, that I may know how to proportion the equivalent to Mr. Yznardi. It should be stored in the dining-room cellar, & that secured by double locks, as I presume it is. With respect to the election, there is no change of appearance since my last.

The main body of the Federalists are determined to elect B. or to prevent an election. We have 8 States certain; they 6, and two divided. There are 6 individuals of moderate dispositions, any one of which coming over to us will make a 9th vote. I dare not trust more through the post. My tender love to my ever dear Martha and to the little ones. I believe I must ask her to give directions to Goliath & his senile corps to prepare what they can in the garden, as it is very possible I may want it. Accept assurances of my sincere affection. Adieu.

CATHERINE CHURCH * TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

To his Excellency Thomas Jefferson. Favored by Coll. Burr.

N. YORK, Feby. 23^d [1801].

At a moment when, called by the voice of a nation to its highest station, congratulations flow to you from all quarters, shall an insignificant individual of it presume to offer you her's? Yes, my good Sir, I flatter myself you will permit it, when I reflect on the many proofs of your good will towards me & persuaded that the effusions of a grateful remembrance can never want a welcome from the goodness & sensibility which have given rise to them, & in the pleasure arising from the elevation of those whom we value recognize the interest I have in this event. Did either my situation in life, my age, or (perhaps more properly) my sex, render me fit or *adequate* to be a politician, the basis of my satisfaction might be in *public good*, but as I am nothing less than that, I will only address you in the language of the heart, that will at least have the merit of sincerity, while the other would be only

* Catherine Church was the daughter of John B. Church, of New York, an intimate friend of Alexander Hamilton, and of Angelica Schuyler, his wife. Early in 1802 she was married to Bertram P. Cruger, by whom she had a large family. (See N. Y. Genealogical and Biographical Record, vol. vi. pp. 78, 79.) Her mother had long been a friend and correspondent of Jefferson. — Eds.

an ignorant affectation. And since you, my dear Sir, can never have any reason to quarrel with truths, I may offer them to you in all their simplicity. May you after having satisfied the ambition of your friends realize the wishes of affection, & in the cares of government never know a diminution of happiness ; & if to the empire over hearts can be connected one equally fascinating, let this addition prove such to you ; the latter may perhaps boast of one more charm than the former can have in your eyes, — the attraction of novelty.

I wrote to my dear Maria last summer. It is very long since I have heard from her, & hope my letter found her as well & as happy as I ever wish her to be. Since that I have had a long & dangerous illness which has exiled me a little from my friends in interrupting our correspondence. Pray do me the favor to mention me afftely to her & M^{rs}. Randolph.

You will see *en passant* a charming little friend of whom Carolina robs us.* I wish for her sake & that of your daughters that she left us to be near them, as their goodness & amiability render them worthy of each other. Her father & our Vice President has the complaisance to take charge of this letter. Remember, Sir, that you are now to make no *jaloux*, & that the State of N. York will expect a visit from its President, & I am well disposed to urge their claim very strongly.

Adieu, Sir ; accept with your usual *bienveillance* the assurances of my respectful attachment.

CATHERINE CHURCH.

* Theodosia, only daughter of Aaron Burr and his wife Theodosia, was born in 1783, and was lost at sea in December, 1812, or January, 1813. She was married February 2, 1801, to Joseph Alston, a wealthy planter in South Carolina, and afterward Governor of the State. See Appleton's Cyclopædia of American Biography, vol. i pp. 467, 468. — Eds.

GEORGE JEFFERSON * TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

RICHMOND, 4th March, 1801.

MY DEAR SIR, — I am now about to address you on a subject which I am very apprehensive may be deemed obtrusive and impertinent ; for it certainly does not become me to advise you what your conduct should be, as my acquaintance with you does not justify such a liberty, and *much* less am I justified from ability to give counsel ; but being by my brother placed under the disagreeable necessity of forwarding the inclosed letter, which he sent open for my perusal, I cannot forbear making a few remarks on it.

I am extremely grieved to attempt in any way to thwart the wishes of a friend and brother, but *much more* am I grieved that that brother should be so extremely solicitous in seeking an office, and particularly that he should be so entirely destitute of reflection and of delicacy as to ask anything of you, when he surely should conclude from what you have already done for him that if there were any office in your gift to the duties of which you considered him competent, and there were no other objection to his filling it, that you would undoubtedly recollect him without any solicitation ; but, taking for granted his capacity to fill some office, which probably would not stand the test of investigation, inasmuch as a person would, perhaps, be nearly as well qualified to commence the practice of the law without any previous study as he would be to engage in any business which I suppose he can contemplate, yet, for a moment laying that objection aside, there is another which with you, I think, should be insurmountable and *unalterable*.

There was no part of Gen^l Washington's character which

* George Jefferson was a distant kinsman and a business correspondent of Thomas Jefferson. In the Jefferson Papers in the possession of this Society is a very voluminous correspondence between them, almost wholly on business matters, both before and after the date of this letter. The answer to the letter here printed will be found in H. A. Washington's edition of *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, vol. iv. p. 388. — EDS.

met with such universal approbation as his disinterestedness in uniformly refusing to appoint any relation to office; and there was no part of M^r Adams's, on the contrary, which so much contributed to lower him in my estimation as conduct directly the reverse. The objection to which I allude certainly does not hold good in the present case, except in a very remote degree; but the relationship could not generally be known to be so distant, and from the small number of the name, it would probably be thought to be nearer. If my brother would be willing to run the smallest risk of hearing you blamed for appointing a relation (however distant) to office, he must possess feelings very different indeed from mine. The danger of incurring such censure would be increased from the necessity you would find yourself under of displacing some from office who have acted improperly; and with what avidity they would catch at the smallest opening to charge you with turning others out of office in order to make room for your relations, you may form but too correct a judgment from your experience of their enmity on former occasions. Indeed I have *already* heard insinuations of family influence. I have heard it said by Federalists (as they stile themselves) that although many will lose their offices, yet *that one* who has acted with the greatest impropriety, in the opinion of every Republican I ever heard speak upon the subject, will continue to hold his on account of the family connexion.

Thus it is that wretches speak, who, judging others from the depravity of their own souls, can have no idea of any motive of action, unless it springs from interest or family aggrandisement, and who cannot conceive that a good man in such a case can feel entirely free of all sort of influence, except that which prompts him to be more rigid with family connexions than with others, and especially if he had any hand in bestowing the office they hold.

I hope, my dear Sir, you will excuse me for having taken up so much of your time at this juncture, when the whole of it must be required in more important concerns. Nothing would have induced me to have done it but the distressing situation in which I am placed by my brother.

I would have delayed forwarding his letter in the hope of dissuading him from his purpose, but I have, on a former occasion something similar to the present, experienced the total inefficacy of any such attempt.

My unwillingness to interrupt you at this time is increased by the fear that your table will be but too much crowded with petitions for office, and unwelcome (when uninteresting) letters of advice. For my part, however, I promise you that however indulgent a view you may take of this, I will never be tempted to repeat the impropriety.

I am, dear Sir, your very humble serv^t

GEO. JEFFERSON.

My brother having ask'd my opinion of his application, I shall send him a copy of this ; silence from you will be therefore understood.

G. J.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, Esq^r.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO THOMAS MANN RANDOLPH.

WASHINGTON, Mar. 12, 1801.

DEAR SIR, — I mentioned to you in my letter by Mr. Nicholas that I should be able by this post to fix a day for the departure of Davy Bowles with my chair & horses, & that he should be in readiness ; though it is impossible for me to say to a day when I can set out from hence, yet I expect it may be by the time you receive this. I would therefore have him set off from Monticello on Saturday the 21st inst. and come to Mr. Heron's in Culpeper, half a

mile this side of Mr Strode's, where he will arrive on Sunday the 22^d, and will wait for me till I get there, which, if nothing unexpected occurs, will be on that or the next day. But circumstances might arise which might detain me longer, in which case he must wait there. It is probable Mr. Strode will press him much to go with the horses to his house, but he must be charged expressly to continue at Heron's, which is a house of entertainment. My stay at home cannot exceed a fortnight, or a very few days over that.

I am still at a great loss, Mr. Madison not having been able to come on as yet, Mr. Gallatin not agreeing to join us till my return,* and not knowing as yet where to get a Secretary of the Navy; Gen^l Smith refused, so did Mr. Langdon. I am now pressing again on Gen^l Smith, but with little hope of his acceding; in that case my distress will be very great. Hitherto appearances of reunion are very flattering, in all the states south of New England. A few removals from office will be indispensable. They will be chiefly for real misconduct, & mostly in the offices connected with the administration of justice. I shall do as little in that way as possible. This may occasion some outcry; but it must be met. One removal will give me a great deal of pain, because it will pain you [*illegible*] it would be inexcusable [in] me to make that exception. The prostitution of justice by packing of juries cannot be passed over. Embrace my dear Martha for me a thousand times, and kisses to the young ones. To yourself affectionate esteem & attachment.

TH: JEFFERSON.

* James Madison was the new Secretary of State, and Albert Gallatin the new Secretary of the Treasury, but the latter did not take office immediately. See Lanman's Biographical Annals, p. 506.—Eds.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO THOMAS MANN RANDOLPH.

Mar. 26, 1801. WASHINGTON.

I am still here, & not yet absolutely certain of the moment I can get off. I fear I shall this evening receive a 4th refusal of the Secretaryship of the Navy. Should it take place, I have fixed on a temporary arrangement, & in any event expect to get away in the course of 2 or 4 days, so as to be with you by the time you receive this or very soon after. It is the getting the naval department under way which alone detains me. My tenderest affections to my ever dear Martha and to the little ones. Friendly attachment to yourself.

TH: JEFFERSON.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO CATHARINE CHURCH*.

WASHINGTON, Mar. 27, 1801.

I owe you a letter, my dear young friend. It is a debt I pay with pleasure, & therefore should not have so long delayed but for the importunity of others more urging & less indulgent. I thank you for your kind congratulations on the proof of public esteem lately bestowed on me. That you write in these sentiments renders them more dear to me. The post is not enviable, as it affords little exercise for social affections. There is something within us which makes us wish to have things conducted in our own way and which we generally fancy to be patriotism. This ambition is gratified by such a position. But the heart would be happier enjoying the affections of a family fireside. It is more than six weeks since I heard from Maria. This is a proof of her aversion to her pen, & must be her apology for not answering your letter, which she received in due time, & resolved to answer every day for a month before I parted with her last. She continues to

* See Miss Church's letter, *ante*, pp. 88, 89. — Eds.

love you as much as ever, and would give you, as she does me, every proof of it except writing letters. She is in a fair way to be again a mother. This will prevent her meeting me at home, in a short excursion I am about making thither. Mrs. Randolph always recollects you with her former affection. She is the mother of four children, and half of another. I shall endeavor to persuade them to come & see me here sometimes, & will not be without hopes it may tempt you to take a flying trip, which, in summer, is of three days only. Present my friendly respects to Mr. and Mrs. Church, & accept yourself assurances of my constant and affectionate attachment.

TH: JEFFERSON.

MISS CATHARINE CHURCH.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO THOMAS MANN RANDOLPH.

WASHINGTON, May 14, 1801.

I take up my pen merely because I have not written to you since my arrival here, and simply to inform you I am well. I shall be happy to hear the same from you, and hope this day's post may bring me that information, or that Fontrees's waggon will do it, which, I expect, will arrive to-morrow or next day. We are selling off all our vessels except the 13 frigates established by law, bringing 7 of them to this place and sending out 3 to take exercise. The expense will be reduced to about half a million annually, great part of which will be paid this year by the proceeds of the sales of the others. We fear that Spain is ceding Louisiana to France, an inauspicious circumstance to us. Mr. Gallatin's arrival yesterday renders the organization of our new administration complete, and enables us to settle our system of proceeding. Mr. & Mrs. Madison & Miss Payne are lodging with us till they can get a house. Great desires are expressed here that

Patsy & Maria should come on, but that I give no hopes of till autumn. My tenderest affections to Patsy & kisses to the young ones. Sincere attachment & friendly salutations to yourself.

P. S. I have engaged a capital whitesmith, who is a nailer also, to go on from Philadelphia in July.

JAMES MADISON TO WILSON C. NICHOLAS.

W. C. Nicholas, Warren, Virginia.

WASHINGTON, July 10, 1801.

MY DEAR SIR, — I cannot at so late a day acknowledge your two favors of [*blank*] without an explanation, which I am sure your goodness will accept as an apology. Having brought with me to this place a very feeble state of health, and finding the mass of business in the department, at all times considerable, swelled to an unusual size by sundry temporary causes, it became absolutely necessary to devote the whole of my time & pen to my public duties, and consequently to suspend my private correspondences altogether, notwithstanding the arrears daily accumulating. To this resolution I have thus far adhered. I must now endeavor to make some atonement for the delay, and your case is among the first that is suggested both by obligation & inclination.

That one of your letters which is confidential has been imparted to no person whatever. The P. O. Gen^l. continues in the hands of Col. H., who, though not perhaps sufficiently in the views of the administration, is much respected personally, & is warmly espoused politically also by some of the purest and most weighty of our friends.*

* Joseph Habersham (born in Savannah, Georgia, July 28, 1751; died there Nov. 17, 1815) was appointed Postmaster General by Washington, as successor to Timothy Pickering, and continued in office under John Adams and under Jefferson until the latter part of 1801. He was succeeded by Gideon Granger of Connecticut. See Appleton's *Cyclopædia of American Biography*, vol. iii. p. 21; Lanman's *Biographical Annals*, p. 506 — Eds.

It will be difficult to make a satisfactory arrangement for this dep^t that will not involve translations, &c., which will prevent a real vacancy. Besides this, I am inclined to believe that the P. would be afraid to draw on Virg^a agst competitions which w^d. abound from other States. The individ^{ual} spoken of by you would, as you must be well assured, be perfectly desired as an associate in the public business, on every consideration, unless it be on that of robbing another important station of his services.

Little has occurred which you have not found in the newspapers. The task of removing and appointing officers continues to embarrass the Ex. and agitate particular parts of the Union. The degree, the mode, & the times of performing it are often rendered the more perplexing by the discord of information & counsel received from different persons whose principles & views are the same. In Connecticut the fever & murmur of discontent at the exercise of this power is the greatest. The removal of Goodrich & app^t. of a respectable repulⁿ. have produced a *remonstrance* to the President in the strongest terms that decorum would tolerate.* The spirit in that State is so perverse that it must be rectified by a peculiar mixture of energy and delicacy. The Sec^yship of the Navy is still unfilled, Langdon hav^g. lately sent his final refusal. The P. has just offered it to M^r. Rob^t Smith, who we hope will be prevailed on to take it.†

Our news from abroad have not yet decided the fate of Egypt or furnished any sufficient data for calculating it. It is believed the Emperor Alexander will endeavor to keep at peace both with France & G. B., & at the same time not abandon the principle of the Coalition. This

* The removal of Elizur Goodrich, Collector of the port of New Haven, was one of the most unpopular acts of the new administration. See Henry Adams's History of the United States, vol. i. p. 226; Randall's Life of Thomas Jefferson, vol. ii. pp. 659-661. — Eds.

† Robert Smith, of Maryland, finally became Secretary of the Navy under Jefferson, January 26, 1802. See Lanman's Biographical Annals, p. 506. — Eds.

can only be done by mutually winking at mutual violations of their respective claims.

It is believed, or rather directly asserted by a consul just returned from St. Domingo, that Toussaint will proclaim in form the independence of that island within 2 or 3 weeks. This event presents many important aspects to the U. S., as well as to other nations, which will not escape your eye. Lear * had not arrived there when the above person came away. We are impatient for the information which may be expected from him.

You have probably heard the rumour of a cession of Louisiana to France by a late & latent treaty with Spain. The fact is not authenticated, but is extremely probable. If otherwise not probable, it is rendered so by the apparent policy of counteracting the Anglicism suspected in the Atlantic States & the alarm excited by Blount's affair of some combined project to throw that country into the hands of G. B.† The subject engages our attention, and the proceedings deemed most suited to the complexity of the case, and the contrariety of interests & views involved in it, will be pursued. It may be inferred, I think, that if France becomes possessed of this object, her policy will take a shape fitted to the interests and conciliatory to the minds of the Western people. This and the preceding paragraph need not be of promiscuous use. I hope to leave this place within two weeks or thereabouts, being admonished to hasten it by a late slight attack of bile to which my constⁿ is peculiarly prone.

Y^{rs}. affly.

JS. MADISON.

* Tobias Lear, sometime Private Secretary to Washington, was born in Portsmouth, N. H., Sept. 19, 1762, graduated at Harvard College in 1783, and died, by his own hand, in Washington, D. C., Oct. 11, 1816. In 1801 or 1802 he was made Consul General at St. Domingo. He was afterward Consul General at Algiers and Commissioner to Tripoli, and at the time of his death he was employed as an accountant in the War Department. See Appleton's Cyclopædia of American Biography, vol. iii. p. 648. — Eds.

† See note, *ante*, p. 60. — Eds.

BENJAMIN VAUGHAN * TO WILLIAM VAUGHAN.†

William Vaughan, Esq., at Mess. Sam. Vaughan & Sons, London.

HALLOWELL, June 24, 1801.

MY DEAR WILLIAM, — M^r. Jefferson, the President of the United States of America, is desirous of a refracting telescope, suited both for terrestrial & celestial objects, & costing from 20 to 30 guineas.

When I was in London M^r. Dollond still valued his father's old stock of glass, & the optical instruments sold by him were, generally speaking, held among the best in London. The merits of M^r. Ramsden are so counteracted by his delays that I do not name him. But to avoid mistakes, I wish you to apply to Sir Joseph Banks, M^r. Cavenish, & Sir Charles Blagden, who are each thoroughly acquainted with the present state of things in the branch in question, & take their advice. As old friends to myself, & as persons likely to be anxious for the creditable execution of this commission, they will not refuse their best assistance. When you apply to them, pray add my respectful regards, and tell them that I am become one of the most extensive cultivators & busiest doctors in this quarter of the world; but that I shall still hope to find

* Benjamin Vaughan was the eldest son of Samuel Vaughan, a West India merchant and planter who settled in London, by his wife Sarah, a daughter of Benjamin Hallowell, of Boston, and was born in Jamaica, April 19, 1751, during a temporary residence of his parents on the island. He was educated at Hackney, Warrington, and the University of Cambridge, "but was prevented by the system of religious tests from graduating, being a Unitarian." He studied law and medicine, and afterward engaged in mercantile pursuits. At one time he was the private secretary of Lord Shelburne; and at the request of that nobleman he took an active but unofficial part in the negotiations which resulted in the recognition of American Independence and the treaty of peace. About 1798 he came to America, and settled at Hallowell, where he died Dec. 8, 1835. He was an intimate friend of Benjamin Franklin, and edited the first edition of Franklin's Complete Works. See Appleton's Cyclopædia of American Biography, vol. vi. pp. 266, 267; Dictionary of National Biography, vol. lviii. pp. 158, 159. — Eds.

† William Vaughan, the second son of Samuel and Sarah (Hallowell) Vaughan, was born Sept. 22, 1752, and died in London, May 5, 1850. He was a prominent merchant, a man of science, and the author of numerous pamphlets on matters connected with trade and commerce. See Dictionary of National Biography, vol. lviii. pp. 187, 188. — Eds.



time for the execution of any commands they may impose upon me.

But to return to our telescope, I *think* I remember a telescope presented to Dr. Price by some public body, & a similar one presented by my father to the Philosophical Society at Philadelphia; each of which (as I believe) were made by Mr Dollond, & cost about 30 guineas. That given to Dr. Price I saw, & saw it applied to terrestrial objects; & was so well content with it, that I wish it could be bought for Mr. Jefferson, as it would answer for the banks of the Potowmack, & for the heavens, as far as instruments of that price can be expected to suit the latter purpose.

If to the instrument, when sent, you can add any information regarding these subjects, which shall be useful to the President or his friends, I shall be gratified.

As I am writing respecting science, this may be a proper place to inform you that I have not heard that your acquaintance Mr. Masson, the King's botanist, has been in these parts. When he comes, I can furnish him with a capital informant, Mr. W. Dandridge Peck.

Yours very affect^y:

BENJ^N. VAUGHAN.

JOHN TAYLOR TO WILSON C. NICHOLAS.

Col^o Wilson C. Nicholas, Albermarle. To go by way of Richmond.

CAROLINE, Sep^r 5, 1801.

DEAR SIR, — I have no doubt respecting the accuracy of the description you have given of your lands, and very little as to the propriety of the prices you demand; but, upon consulting my feelings to know how they would relish a long journey, they recoil forcibly from the idea; and have disclosed to me either that my relish for acquiring property is so much weakened, or that for quiet &

BY

sedentary life so much strengthened, as to make it improbable that I should be willing to visit or manage property lying at a great distance.

Respecting the judiciary law of the last Congress, I have long since made up my mind as to what ought to be done, altho' I have troubled no one with my opinion ; not only because the chances are against its correctness, on account of the hasty manner in which my temper leads me to decide, but because correctness is little or no recommendation of any opinion ; as you ask it, however, it follows.

The question consists of two points : 1st, can Congress take away the judicial powers the law confers ? 2^{ly}, can they take away the salaries of the judges ? The law itself determines the first point. It abolishes in strong language certain courts previously established, and of course takes away judicial powers previously bestowed. These courts have ceased to exist, & these powers to be exercised. If the last law was constitutional in abolishing the former courts & powers, then a law to repeal the last and re-establish the former will also be constitutional ; if not, then it ought to be repealed, & is in fact void as being unconstitutional.

The second question does not I think fall within the legislative province. Congress can only decide whether these new jurisdictions are pernicious or beneficial to society. If the former, they ought not to remain, because society may possibly sustain an additional pecuniary injury ; if the latter, the expence ought not to deprive it of the blessing. It would be strange reasoning to say that the misfortune of paying salaries may be recompensed by those of a mischievous judiciary system, and the most pernicious precedent that I can recollect. If the mischiefs, both judicial & political of this law, shall outweigh its benefits, I cannot conceive that the additional mischief of expence will save it, or that Congress will for such a

reason forbear to defeat its other mischiefs. And if the question as to salaries belongs to the judiciary, it would be strange should Congress discuss it, or forbear to exercise their constitutional power or to do their duty, lest the judges should decide this question erroneously. Especially as the responsibility of the judiciary cannot begin until Congress shall perform their function. Then the question will occur whether the abolition of a court abolishes the salary constitutionally. The responsibility of the decision falls on the judiciary. If it is in the affirmative the Republicans will gain the popularity of abolishing this horrid law; if in the negative, the judges, the odium of continuing & receiving sinecures.

You are warm for some constitutional reform, and yet you ask me, what can Mr. Jefferson do towards it? What can he not do? Has he complained of the power of the executive, in weak & passionate hands, to do evil; & can he deny its power, guided by consummate talents, to do good? Or is society more ready to support the executive in efforts to oppress than in efforts to relieve? If Mr. J. can do nothing, who can? Who possesses his power or talents? Are they to be found in poor diggers of the earth, such as myself? How often has Mr. J. contemplated in raptures the idea of a patriot king! Let him realize that idea, and not utterly astound the philosophers of the world, by the sight of the head of their body, at the head of a great nation, without doing any thing material for human happiness. A rigid economy will enable the administration to repeal some of the most obnoxious tax laws, and this will acquire a confidence which will enable them to do either right or wrong. Respecting amendments of the Constitution, I do not think that those elegantly proposed in the official paper under the signature of Solon, will do much, — they were evils begotten by a cause, which cause will engender new evils, tho' these should be removed. Before the dispute as to the treaty making

power, the sedition or alien laws, &c, this wicked cause had contaminated the principles of society, & marshalled it into envenomed parties. By leaving this cause to distribute its venom, it will beget new disorders in the community, faster than any political doctors can cure them. The bounds of a letter prohibit me from going into this subject. At any rate, I deprecate the idea of Mr. J.'s leaving the presidency (unless under an alteration of the constitution) as the greatest public calamity which could happen. Let him, *for God's sake* (I confess that he owes very little to men) make his country happy as long as he lives, if he will not adventure upon great reforms for the controul of wicked men after he is dead.

I have repeated your application to Mr. M^cCalister without success. His price for tuition is twelve pounds per annum, and he never exceeds 12 or 13 pupils. Board without washing would probably be 100 dollars. Port Royal is, I think, as healthy as any part of Albermarle. It possesses the vices of all small towns, out of which boys, whose parents imprudently furnish with much money, could not be entirely kept; for boys in towns have very little use for money, except to buy vice. Lads under 15, dressed plain & scantily monied, would not suffer much in morals in Port Royal, if I may judge from the instances I know. Farewell. Believe to be,

Yr. friend,

JOHN TAYLOR.

I prefer Mr. Maury's for small boys }
 who learn the languages *Gr* : & *La* : }

JOHN BECKLEY * TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

PHILADELPHIA, 27th October, 1801.

DEAR SIR, — A short but severe fit of the gout has delayed my acknowledgment of your favor of the 22^d. I sincerely regret the necessity that has occasioned M^r Hanson's† reference to me, and in the just estimate of his character and merits, shall feel a twofold gratification in the possibility that I may afford him a temporary relief from political persecution and intolerance. If, in the event of my contemplated success, the station he asks will be acceptable, he cannot receive it with half the pleasure I shall feel in that acceptance. No circumstance of pre-engagement interferes with the performance of this promise, and I only lament that a previous contingent arrangement precludes my offering him the more eligible station of principal clerk.

I sought out and delivered your letter to Mess^{rs}. Fry and Chapman; they are Germans, and not understanding English, desired me to read it to one of their brethern to translate, which being done, they requested that I would convey to you their high gratification and thankfulness for so particular a mark of your favor and attention.

In about ten days M^{rs} Beckley and myself hope to be in Washington, when I shall have the pleasure to communicate to you a singular overture to me, by letter, from a Fœderal senator, to place me in the station of Secretary of the Senate. M^r. Duane desires me to express the deep sense he entertains of your favor, friendship, and

* John Beckley was a Virginian by birth, and was Clerk of the House of Representatives of the United States from the organization of the government under the Constitution down to May 15, 1797, and again from D-c. 7, 1801, down to Oct. 26, 1807. See Lanman's Biographical Annals, pp. 27, 505. — EDS.

† Samuel Hanson, of Virginia. The office for which he was an applicant seems to have been that of Engrossing Clerk for the House of Representatives. — EDS.

support; permit me to add a corresponding sentiment for myself, united with the most sincere esteem and attachment.

JOHN BECKLEY.

SARAH BLACKDEN * TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

NEW YORK, January y^e 4th, 1802.
N^o. 260 Pearl Street.

SIR, — The friendship with which you condescended to honor my late husband and myself in former years, and your favorable reception of him a few months ago, lead me to the liberty of writing you on the subject of the compensation which we had hoped for from our country as due to his services and sacrifices in the late War for its Independence.

The public prints have probably ere now announced to you the death of Col^o. Blackden. This melancholy and distressing and at the same time sudden and unexpected event took place on the evening of y^e 22nd ult^o after a short tho' severe illness, which commenced just at the moment when he intended to have prepared a renewal of his memorial or petition to Congress. As this task now devolves on me as the legal and only representative of my husband, I have, by recommendation of his Honor the Vice-President and other gentlemen of influence and respectability, determined to undertake it.

To General Bailey, one of the representatives from this State, who in the last session was kind enough to bring forward this subject, I shall under the present date transmit my petition, together with such documents as were then exhibited. It is my intention to write also to M^r Rutledge and Col^o. Talmadge in the lower House, and to M^r Baldwin, M^r Brown & M^r Bradlie of the Senate, but

* Widow of Col. Samuel Blackden. Only the signature to this letter is in the handwriting of Mrs. Blackden. — EDS.

to your Excellency I can address myself with more freedom. Your humane feelings, the knowledge you have had of our situation at the close of the war and after, of our subsequent losses, of the Colonel's confinement to the use of crutches during more than seven of the last years of his life, of our total deprivation of income in consequence, and of the reasonableness of our pretensions on the score of public relief, all tend to inspire me with confidence that you will be interested in my behalf, and that you will cause to be done whatever you can, consistently with your high station, for procuring me that provision and protection which under all circumstances I shall be found to merit.

I pray your Excellency's indulgence for this intrusion, and am with great respect & consideration,

Your Excellency's most humble & afflicted serv^t.,

SARAH BLACKDEN.

His Excellency, THOMAS JEFFERSON, Esq.,
President of the United States.

ALEXANDER J. DALLAS* TO ———.

D^r SIR, — I thank you, sincerely thank you, for your letter. I was apprehensive that all my old Congressional friends had forgotten me. You have rescued me, with respect to one of the number most valued, from the pain and mortification of that apprehension. Pray let me hear from you often, and be assured that in every way I will endeavour to repay the obligation.

* Alexander J. Dallas was the son of a Scottish physician, and was born in the island of Jamaica, June 21, 1759, removed to Philadelphia in April, 1783, and died at Trenton, N. J., Jan. 14, 1817. He was appointed United States District Attorney for the eastern district of Pennsylvania in 1801, and held that office until 1814, when he was appointed Secretary of the Treasury by Mr. Madison. After March, 1815, he also discharged the duties of Secretary of War. He retired from office in November, 1816. (See Appleton's *Cyclopædia of American Biography*, vol. ii. p. 58.) This letter was probably enclosed in an envelope which has not been preserved. It is indorsed on the back in a handwriting believed to be that of Wilson C. Nicholas, "A. J. Dallas," and there can be little doubt that the letter was written to him. — Eds.

Even in giving an opinion upon the subject of your letter you shall have a proof of my sincerity, for you shall have the opinion, though I am convinced it will put at risque the compliment which is conveyed in the manner of asking it. Lawyer-like, I will consider the question in three points of view: 1st. Whether any essential change should be attempted in the Judiciary. 2^d. Whether, if any, the change should be total. 3^d. Whether a change, by merely abolishing the Circuit Court establishment and re-instating the old system, would be beneficial.

1. On the first point, I disclaim all idea of disputing the constitutional power of Congress to legislate upon the administration of justice, as well as upon any other object of public concern. The power of creating and the power of annihilating systems of jurisprudence within the boundaries of the constitutional outline, I think fairly and properly vested in Congress. With a country like our's, half wilderness, a population like our's, a mere germ, and external prospects like our's, scarcely in the dawn, it would be idle to suppose that what a law might do to-day, in relation to the circumstances of the day, another law might not modify, change, or supersede twenty years hence in relation to circumstances produced by that lapse of time. The nature of the thing will not admit such a doctrine; and there is nothing in the positive provisions of the Constitution subversive of the nature of the thing.

But affirming that Congress has a constitutional power, the policy of exercising it merits a serious consideration. It will not be a sufficient reason for exercising the power to annihilate the existing system, that there was an abuse of power in creating it. An enlightened patriot or a prudent politician will reflect well before he considers the mere transfer of power from one party to another through the medium of a popular election as a just or a safe ground of action. Those who think that the law of the last session ought to be repealed must encounter every

prejudice in favour of judicial independence on principle as well as on the *popular* construction of the Constitution. They must be prepared to satisfy the public that the repeal was not as much the effect of party as the enacting. They must be able to shew that the law was useless, or at least that the benefits were far from being an equivalent for the expenses of the institution. But, above all, it will be incumbent on them to ascertain the consequences of the precedent.

I have not time to detail my feelings and opinions; but, as far as they can be of any weight, I console myself with the proverb while writing to you—a word to the wise. The result of all I have thought, heard, or seen, would not be so decisively in favor of an essential change in the judiciary as our friends at Washington have resolved. Perhaps the great convenience which Pennsylvania has experienced from the new Circuit Court may warp my judgment. The imperfections of our State Judiciary, and the improbability of any liberal reform, may, likewise, have an influence. But, upon the whole, I should be disposed to make some amendments, yet, not essentially to change the existing system.

2. If, however, a change must be made, I am glad to find that it will not be a total one. The Supreme Court ought to be preserved. It is a Constitutional court, and you cannot abolish it without appearing to aim more at the persons who are actually the judges than would be proper under any circumstances.

3. I cannot conceive that a repeal of the Act of the last session and a reinstatement of the old system will eventually be satisfactory to the public. The Constitution appears to regard the Supreme Court as a court of appellate jurisdiction, except in a few specified cases; and the judges being assembled from all parts of the Union, an unity of principle and practice, as to all great questions, would naturally be introduced and preserved. But

employing the judges of the Supreme Court as judges of the Circuit Courts occasioned delay, uncertainty, and inconvenience incalculable : — 1. The judges were members of the court established to revise their own proceedings. 2. The same judges scarcely ever presided at the commencement and the close of the same suit ; so that, generally speaking, the interlocutory decisions were pronounced by one judge, and the final judgment given by another. 3. Judges accustomed only to the laws and practice of Massachusetts were sent to decide according to the laws and practice of South Carolina, &c., &c. If, then, you abolish the existing Circuit Courts, I pray you to form some system that will prevent the evils which I have hinted at. The remedy is not to be found in transferring Federal business to our State courts. The State courts have already more business than they can accomplish.

To these desultory remarks let me add that I rejoice in the prospect of a legislative declaration on the subject of the common law jurisdiction in cases of crime. But whenever the declaration is made you must take care to have a statute provision for punishing every offence which it is proper to punish in a Federal court. That is not the case at present, particularly in relation to misdemeanours on the high seas.

M^{rs} Dallas & Sophia join me in a cordial remembrance of yourself and our other friends at Washington. Be so good as to tell M^r. Dayton that Miss Dayton is well. She promises to prepare a letter for me to inclose to him in a few days. I am, with sincere regard, dr. Sir,

Y^r. affect^e. hble serv^t.

A. J. DALLAS.

4 Jany. 1802.

CATHARINE CHURCH * TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

N. YORK, Febry. 9th [1802.]

YOUR acquaintance, my dear Sir, with the amiable family Dupont, & the very polite attentions of which they retain so lively an impression, precludes all necessity of an introduction to M^{de} Dupont, whose individual merit is such as not to require a relative claim to admiration. I am, however, too proud in owning her as my friend, & in the possibility of introducing her to *you*, to neglect this opportunity of availing myself of these advantages; as conciliating both my affection & my vanity, they are fraught with charms ever welcomed by a female heart & mind; the candor of this confession denotes how much I am gratified by the subjects which occasion it. In addition to the advantage of your society, my dear Sir, I very much wish that our charming friend may unite that of your daughters, first as to her own gratification, & secondly, as to that I shall receive in conversing of them with her.

Mama has been very ill; she is now much recovered, & desires I would present you her comp^{ts}. & assure you that she shall receive a peculiar gratification in the attention she solicits for our friend. As you no doubt retain some agreeable impressions of her country, you will not be displeased in its being thus recalled to you by an *échantillon* of that grace of mind & elegance of manners which constitutes the superior & distinctive merit of her countrywomen. They could not choose a representative so well calculated to do them honor.

It is so long since I have heard from my friend Maria that I fear she has lost sight of me. Pray, my dear Sir, assure her, Mrs. Randolph & yourself, that I preserve with care every remembrance which composes my sincere

* See note, *ante*, p. 88. Miss Church sometimes wrote her name Catherine and sometimes Catharine. — Eds.

& grateful regard to the friends of my infancy & unite to them every motive which renders me desirous & proud to retain some portion of their friendship, & which so effectually conciliates my consideration & esteem.

CATHARINE CHURCH.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO THOMAS MANN RANDOLPH.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 21, 1802.

DEAR SIR, — I am made happy by the regular accounts of the health of the inhabitants of Edgehill. Here there has been an uncommon degree of sickness, ascribed, of course, to the mild winter, tho' we cannot see why. The H. of R. have now been a week debating the judiciary law, and scarcely seem to be yet on the threshold of it. I begin to apprehend a long session; however, I believe all material matters recommended in the first day's message will prevail. The majority begins to draw better together than at first. Still there are some wayward freaks which now & then disturb the operations.

I know nothing of the person from Loudon who went to take Shadwell, having never heard of him till your letter. In a letter to Mr. Craven, which he received on the day of the date of yours, I expressed a wish that he could bring some good tenant to it; and as the man happened to be with him that very day, he made an agreement with him to take all, except the yard, on Peyton's terms; but as to the yard, that remains to be arranged. I have written to him on the subject.

I forward you two newspapers presenting two versions of Hamilton's speeches. The language of insurgency is that of the party at present, even in Congress. Mr. Bayard,* in a speech of 7 hours, talked with confidence

* James A. Bayard of Delaware, one of the most eminent and influential Federalists in the House of Representatives. He strenuously resisted the repeal of the Judiciary Act. — Eds.

of the possibility of resistance by arms. They expect to frighten us, but are met with perfect sangfroid. Present my warmest affections to my ever dear Martha & the little ones, and be assured of my constant & sincere attachment.

TH: JEFFERSON.

CATHARINE CRUGER * TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

PERMIT me, my dear Sir, to introduce my brother to the honor of your notice. His journey has for motive business of a very interesting nature in which he will have to solicit your favor, & I shall not be of our family the one who will not share the obligation it will confer on him, & the pleasure of knowing that the wrongs he has suffered will find redress.

It is very long since I have heard of my friend Maria. I do not, however, think of her the less & hope that she & Mrs. Randolph are well & happy. Do me the favor to remember me to them & accept, my dear Sir, the constant assurance of my esteem & attachment.

CATHARINE CRUGER.

April 29th, 1802.

GEORGE JEFFERSON TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

RICHMOND, 16th June, 1802.

DEAR SIR, — In compliance with the desire express'd in your favor of the 12th, I have been endeavouring to get an offer for your tobacco, but no one seems disposed to make a positive one, unless I were authorized to make sale of it.

Should I be authorised to sell it at such a price, a Mr. Rutherford tells me that he thinks it probable he will give $4\frac{3}{4}$ \$ cash, or 5 \$ at 90 days. This last price, however, I think may be had in cash, but better than that I fear is not to be expected.

* See note, *ante*, p. 88. — Eds.

It is a rare thing now a days to meet with any one who will give an extra price on credit, who is with safety to be trusted.

No earth-quake I suppose ever produced a greater crush, than peace has amongst the merchants.* I have myself by fatal experience become a convert to your opinion, "that 500 acres of land is of more value than the prospect of the fortune of any merchant whatever." Your goodness will, I trust, excuse these observations.

I am, dear Sir, your very humble sev^t,

GEO. JEFFERSON.

THO^s. JEFFERSON, Esq.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO THOMAS MANN RANDOLPH.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 19, 03.

DEAR SIR, — The post of last night brings us agreeable information from New Orleans & Natchez. Gen^l. Wilkinson arrived at N. Orleans from Mobile Nov. 25, settled immediately with Laussat all the circumstances of the delivery, & proceeded next day to Fort Adams, where he would arrive on the 30th, & expect to meet Claiborne there ready for embarkation. On the 29th. Laussat demanded possession of the Spanish officers, who instantly agreed to deliver the place on the next day (30th.) at noon, & every thing was arranged for that purpose. Laussat meant to garrison the forts with militia, & to appoint a person to every office civil & military to take the place of the Spanish incumbents. In all this he acted in concert with Clarke, mixing many Americans in the offices, & giving the command of the militia to a friend of Clarke's. Claiborne embarked 100 militia Dec. 1, from Natchez for Fort Adams, & set out Dec. 2 by land for the same place, expecting to fall in with & carry on to that place 80 militia

* The peace of Amiens, to which the writer refers, was concluded March 25, 1802, and was followed by a great fall in prices. — Eds.

more. He would find Wilkinson there with all the regulars ready for embarkation, which probably took place on the 3^d or 4th, & they would arrive at N. Orleans the 6th or 7th. If on the 6th, we shall hear of it Christmas night; if not till the 7th, we shall not hear it till the night of New Year's day.* The Marquis of Casa Calva had ordered the barracks to be got ready to receive & accommodate our troops, and proposed to embark all his own, the moment he had delivered the place, on board an armed vessel then lying ready to receive them; so that they will be gone before the arrival of our troops. Laussat would hold the government about a week. This is for yourself & Mr Eppes.† My tender love to my dear Martha & Maria, and all the young ones, & affectionate salutations to yourself & Mr Eppes.

TH : JEFFERSON.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO MARTHA JEFFERSON RANDOLPH.

WASHINGTON, Oct. 7, 04.

MY DEAR MARTHA, — I arrived here this day week, having travelled through the rain of that day rather than stay in disagreeable quarters. I experienced no inconvenience from it. The Marquis Yrujo arrived two days after me, and Mr. Madison & Gen^l. Dearborne got here the last night. The latter has left his family in Maine for the winter. Yrujo is said to be very ill, taken two days ago. I inclose a magazine for Jefferson, merely for the sake of the plate which may add to the collection for his room.‡ You will see in the magazine an account of a new work by Mrs. Robinson, Mrs. Cosway, & Mrs. Wat-

* For an account of the delivery of Louisiana to the United States, see Henry Adams's *History of the United States*, vol. ii. p. 256. — Eds.

† Maria, Jefferson's youngest surviving daughter, had married her half-cousin, John Wayles Eppes, October 13, 1797. She died April 17, 1804. — Eds.

‡ Thomas Jefferson Randolph, Jefferson's eldest grandson, was then about twelve years old. — Eds.

son, which must be curious.* A great deal of sickness has been & still exists in this place: I trust, however, that the hard frosts we had a week ago have destroyed the germ of new cases. The sickliness of the summer has been so general that we may consider the exemption of our canton from it as very remarkable. Four weeks to-morrow our winter campaign opens. I dread it on account of the fatigues of the table in such a round of company, which I consider as the most serious trials I undergo. I wish much to turn it over to younger hands and to be myself but a guest at the table, & free to leave it as others are; but whether this would be tolerated is uncertain. I hope Mr. Randolph, yourself, & the dear children continue well. I miss you all at all times, but especially at breakfast, dinner, & the evening, when I have been used to unbend from the labours of the day. Present me affectionately to Mr. Randolph, & my kisses to the young ones. My tender and unchangeable love to yourself. Adieu, my ever dear daughter.

TH: JEFFERSON.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO GEORGE JEFFERSON.

WASHINGTON, June 12, 05.

DEAR SIR, — Mr. John D. Burke of Petersburg, engaged in writing the history of Virginia has asked the use of a volume of laws & some volumes of antient newspapers from the library at Monticello. I have desired Mr. Randolph to send them to you, & will pray you to deliver the volumes of newspapers to Mr. Burke himself; but the volume of laws being the only copy of the laws of that period now existing, and being consequently often resorted to in judiciary cases, I wish it to remain in Richmond,

* This may have been the "Progress of Female Virtue and of Female Dissipation," a set of aquatints, designed by Maria Cosway, and executed by Caroline Watson. See Dictionary of National Biography, vol. xii. p. 279; vol. ix. p. 10. — EDS.

where others, who may have occasion, as well as Mr. Burke, may have such free access as is consistent with the safe keeping of the volume. This may be in the office of any careful clerk who will undertake it for Mr. Burke, or wherever else you may think proper to deposit them. I have directed these volumes to be sent you well packed in a water-tight box, so that they may be safe from rubbing & wet, and will pray you to have them returned to me with like care when Mr. Burke is done with them. Accept affectionate salutations.

TH: JEFFERSON.

MR. GEORGE JEFFERSON.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO JAMES OGILVIE.*

WASHINGTON, June 23, 06.

DEAR SIR, — As Mr. Randolph might possibly be from home & the inclosed in that case be opened by my daughter, I have taken the liberty of putting it under your cover with a request to put it into his own hands. The subject of it is perhaps unknown to my daughter, & may as well continue so. It's object is to induce Mr Randolph to act with coolness & an attention to his situation in this unhappy affair between him & J. R., which the newspapers are endeavoring to revive. It is not inclination in any body, but a fear of the opinion of the world which leads men to the absurd & immoral decision of differences by duel. The greatest service, therefore, which Mr T. M. R.'s friends can render him is to convince him that altho' the world esteems courage & disapproves of the want of it, yet in a case like his, & especially where it has been before put out of doubt, the mass of mankind & particu-

* See note, *ante*, p. 3, and also Dictionary of National Biography, vol. xlii. p. 18. The letter here printed refers to the bitter quarrel between Thomas Mann Randolph and John Randolph, of Roanoke, near the end of the first session of the ninth Congress. See Garland's Life of John Randolph, vol. i. pp. 242-251; Randall's Life of Thomas Jefferson, vol. iii. pp. 164-167. — Eds.

larly that thinking part whose esteem we value, would condemn in a husband & father of a numerous family every thing like forwardness in this barbarous and lawless appeal. A conduct cool, candid, and merely defensive is quite as much as could be admitted by any in such a case as his; and I verily believe that if such a conduct be observed on his part, the matter may yet die away. I should be unwilling to have it known that I meddle at all in this, and therefore write to you in confidence. Accept my friendly salutations & assurances of esteem & respect.

TH: JEFFERSON.

MR. OGELVIE.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO THOMAS MANN RANDOLPH.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 3, 06.

DEAR SIR, — Yesterday was sennight I wrote to Reuben Lewis, informing him he might hourly expect his brother there. I meant the next day, which was the post day, to have written it to you also, but was in the intervening evening taken with the autumnal fever so as to be unable to write. The attack was slight & I am now perfectly recovered, and engaged in taking the repeating doses of bark.

We have no information of the progress of our negotiations either at London or Paris, & I have no hope of our learning their conclusion before the meeting of Congress. Indeed it seems as if Spain would be able to protract the latter, in spite of what either we or France can do to spur her up. We have no doubt of the death of Mr. Fox in the course of September, altho' none of the stories yet received are worth notice.* Mr. Erskine is arrived here & is to be presented to-day, & Mr. Merry will at the same time take leave.†

* Charles James Fox died of dropsy, Sept. 13, 1806. — Eds.

† Anthony Merry was British minister to the United States from 1803 to 1806, and was succeeded by David M. Erskine, who was here until October, 1809. — Eds.

Bond, who was his mentor when formerly here, is, we are told, like a good Vicar of Bray, gone over to the new ministry.* In the quarter of Natchitoches I believe every thing will remain quiet. Burr is unquestionably very actively engaged in the westward in preparations to sever that from this part of the Union. We learn that he is actually building 10 or 15 boats able to take a large gun & fit for the navigation of those waters. We give him all the attention our situation admits; as yet we have no legal proof of any overt act which the law can lay hold of. Present my tenderest affections to my dear Martha & the young ones, & accept assurances yourself of constant attachment.

TH : JEFFERSON.

T. M. RANDOLPH

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO MARTHA JEFFERSON RANDOLPH.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 23, 07.

MY DEAR MARTHA, — Here we are all well, & my last letters from Edgehill informed me that all were so there, except some remains of influenza hanging on yourself. I shall be happy to hear you are entirely clear of it's remains. It seems to have gained strength & malignancy in it's progress over the country. It has been a formidable disease in the Carolinas, but worst of all in Kentucky; fatal, however, only to old persons. Davy will set out on his return to-morrow. He will carry an earthen box of monthly strawberries, which I must put under Anne's care till spring, when we will plant them at Monticello. I have stuck several sprigs of geranium in a pot which contained a plant supposed to be orange, but not known to be so.

* Phineas Bond, a native of Philadelphia, was British consul-general for the Middle and Southern States from 1786 to 1812 or 1813. See Report of the American Historical Association for 1896, vol. i. pp. 513-517. — Eds.

We have little company of strangers in town this winter. The only ladies are the wives of Mess^{rs}. Newton, Thurston, W. Alston, Marion, Mumford, Blount, Adams, Cutts, & Mrs McCreary expected. Congress are all expectation & anxiety for the news expected by the Revenge or by Col^o Monro, whose immediate return, however, may be doubted. The war-fever is past, & the probability against it's return rather prevalent. A caucus of malcontent members has been held and an organized opposition to the government arranged, J. R. & J. C. at it's head ;* about 20 members composed it. Their object is to embarrass, avoiding *votes of opposition* beyond what they think the nation will bear. Their chief mischief will be done by letters of misrepresentations to their constituents, for in neither house, even with the assured aid of the Federalists, can they shake the good sense & honest intentions of the mass of real Republicans. But I am tired of a life of contention and of being the personal object for the hatred of every man who hates the present state of things. I long to be among you, where I know nothing but love & delight, and where instead of being chained to a writing table I could be indulged as others are with the blessings of domestic society & pursuits of my own choice. Adieu, my ever dear Martha ; present me affectionately to Mr. Randolph & the family.

TH : JEFFERSON.

M^{rs}. RANDOLPH.

* John Randolph, of Roanoke, and Joseph Clay, one of the members from Pennsylvania. See Hildreth's History of the United States, vol. vi. pp. 64, 65. — Eds.

MARGARET PAGE * TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

RICHMOND, September 30th, 1808.

WITH eyes suffused with the tears of gratitude, dear and respected Sir, did I peruse your affectionate, your generous letter to my beloved husband! † On the brink of the grave it awaken'd him to hope, to renovated life, in the prospect it afforded him of having his wishes realized in the education of his sons, a subject which sat heavy on his heart, and had almost reduced him to despondency; for from the deranged state of his affairs and the pressure of *many* debts, the property which he will leave will not do more than supply my children and myself with food and raiment! Judge, then, what were our feelings on receiving this proof of your comprehensive, your disinterested, your generous friendship, which a mind philanthropic as your own could *alone* have originated. My dying husband bless'd you with the energy and piety of a saint, and *the sweet consciousness* of having cheer'd his *last hours* with the prospect you have afforded for the relief of the pecuniary distresses of his widow and his orphans, will be unto you *the best of recompences!*

But, my dear Sir, I am grieved to inform you that M^r. Francis Page declines accepting the office of Commissioner of Loans on the terms proposed by your benevolence. He came to Richmond on Friday last and informed his father that in August he had received a communication from you made thro' a friend of yours to M^r. Hugh Nel-

* Second wife of Gov. John Page. John Page, an early and life-long friend of Thomas Jefferson, was born at Rosewell, Gloucester County, Va., April 17, 1744, graduated at William and Mary College in 1763, and died in Richmond Oct. 11, 1808, less than a fortnight after the date of this letter. He was one of the Representatives in Congress from 1789 to 1797, Governor of the State from 1802 to 1805, and Commissioner of Loans from 1806 till his death. See Appleton's *Cyclopædia of American Biography*, vol. iv. p. 624; Lanman's *Biographical Annals*, p. 320. — Eds.

† The draught of Jefferson's letter to Page, dated Monticello, Sept. 6, 1808, and "offering continuance of his office, or to transfer it to his son," is in the Department of State at Washington. — Eds.

son, in which you offered him the office on condition of his resigning it to Gregory when he became of age, Mr. F. Page in the mean time (a period of near eight years) enjoying *all the emoluments* ; and under *that* impression he had signified his intention of accepting it and could on *no other*, as he thought the duties of the office would require his residence in Richmond, which would increase his expences to the amount of the salary, besides deranging his other plans for his future success in life. Mr. Page observed to him that when he first, thro' his friend Doctor Tucker, relying on your friendship, proposed that he should be his successor in the office, it was on the *express'd condition* that he should allow Gregory the clerk's salary, 1000\$; to this he returned a very evasive answer, saying he would have allowed 500 *if he found he could have afforded it*, but that to the terms contemplated by your letter to his father he could by no means subscribe. It is evident, then, most highly respected Sir, that I and my children have no expectations from Mr. Francis Page, and I hope you will pardon the candid statement I am about to make you, which the many proofs that I have witness'd of your disinterested attachment to my unfortunate husband, and his earnest request that I should write to you, he being unable to do it himself, encourage me to make.

One of the physicians who attends my dear husband was also visiting a sick child of Mr. Thomas Taylor's of this city, and in the course of conversation frequently mentioned the alarming progress of Mr. Page's disorder, and the probable situation in which I and my children would be left. Mr. Taylor, with a benevolence similar to your own (tho' only an acquaintance), requested the doctor to inform Mr. Page that he had, on the first establishment of the Loan Office, served in it as a clerk for five years, and was so perfectly familiar with the business of the Commissioner, that the duties could be executed by him with very

little trouble to himself, and as he had much spare time, having declined the business in which he was engaged at the time of his marriage, it would rather be an amusement to him ; and that, as he understood an application had been made in the case of M^{rs}. Jones, that the office might be held in trust for her, if M^r. Page would make a similar one for me, and you would permit him to hold the office for the benefit of me and my children, he would pledge himself in the most sacred manner that the salary should be paid to me every quarter, and in case of my death, to whomsoever I should appoint to receive it for my children. M^r. Page, feeling himself delicately situated with respect to M^r. F. Page, and it being *before he received your letter*, requested the doctor to tell M^r. Taylor, that he should ever be truly grateful to him for his generous offer, that he would consider the subject and communicate to him his determination. After the receipt of your letter and M^r. F. Page's declining the office on the terms proposed, and advising his father to accept the offer of M^r. Taylor, M^r. Page desired me to see M^r. Taylor, he being himself too ill to converse with him, and to inform him of the contents of your highly valued letter, — a confidence he deem'd M^r. Taylor worthy of from his friendly conduct. M^r. Taylor then gave me every assurance that should you think him worthy of holding the office *in trust for me and my children*, his engagement should be inviolable ; he added that his having been unfortunately one of the securities of Burr, in compliance with the entreaties of a friend, for he had then no personal knowledge of Burr, might place him in an unfavorable point of view to you, and was he applying for the office for his *own* advantage, he could not expect it to be overlook'd, but from the general philanthropy of *your* character, and the well known patriotism of M^r. Page, which required every consideration of his country, he hoped it might not prove an insuperable objection ; for as to the purity of his character as a man and

a citizen he could bring testimonials from the most respectable inhabitants of Richmond, and he particularly mentioned Mr. George Jefferson, with whom he has been many years in habits of great intimacy; yet as it was possible you might judge it improper to nominate him, he had mention'd his apprehensions to Mr. Benjamin Harrison, of Berkley, in Charles City County,* a cousin of his lady and a relation of Mr. Page, who immediately offered to take the office on the same conditions; should you, then, my dear Sir, think the proposal of Mr. Taylor inadmissible, will you consider that of Mr. Harrison, to whom there can be no objection but his youth, he being only twenty-three years of age. He is the grandson of the late Governor Harrison, has been educated in Republican principles, to which he strictly adheres, is of very amiable private character and possesses an independant handsome fortune, which enables him to live without any profession; and as he passes the greater part of his time in Richmond, the duties of the office can be performed by him without his incurring any additional expence, and with very little personal trouble. You are sensible, most highly honored Sir, that in this case the selection of the person whom I should most approve rests not with me; I could *ask* so great a favor from *no man*; and in making known to you the generous and disinterested offers of Mr. Taylor and Mr. Harrison, I have only performed my duty to my children, and whatever may be your determination the affection and gratitude of my children and myself must ever be yours.

It is my intention to reside at Rosewell, and should the plan suggested by your friendship and a knowledge of the sacrifices made by my dear husband in the purity of his patriotism be carried into effect, the salary shall most sacredly be appropriated to the doing justice to the extraor-

* Nephew of President William Henry Harrison — Eds.

dinary talents of my son Gregory, by giving him every advantage of education, that he may prove worthy of his father and his illustrious benefactor, to the education of my other children, and the hiring a few hands to cultivate Rosewell to enable me to live decently. The children of Mr. Page by his first lady are *all* in easy circumstances (particularly Mr. Francis Page), except one, a widow daughter, Mrs. Smith, whom I shall think it my duty to consider as my own.

And now, revered Sir, would I pray your pardon for my long intrusion on your inestimable time, did I not know your ear was ever open and your heart feeling attentive to the concerns of every human being, the heirs alike of Sorrow, Pain, and Death.

With every sentiment of the most perfect respect, friendship, and gratitude, I am, dear Sir, with heartfelt homage,

Your greatly obliged,

MARGARET PAGE.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO THOMAS MANN RANDOLPH.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 22, 08.

DEAR SIR, — I inclose a letter from Jefferson to Ellen which I presume will inform the family of his health. I sent for your perusal last week a letter from Dr. Wistar, strongly urging his attendance on the chemical lectures. We had supposed, you know, that it would be best for him to confine himself, while at Philadelphia, to those branches of science for which that place has peculiar advantages, that is to say, anatomy, natural history, & botany, & even to add a course of surgery, as entirely subordinate to the others and merely as a convenient acquisition for a country gentleman. These would give him two lectures a day through the week, which I thought would be as much as he could digest. However, as Dr. Wistar placed his attendance on the chemical lectures on the footing of

his having time enough, & so did Mr. Peale also, & the lectures were beginning, I consented to it if you should not object. For a scientific man in a town nothing can furnish so convenient an amusement as chemistry, because it may be pursued in his cabinet; but for a country gentleman I know no source of amusement & health equal to botany & natural history, & I should think it unfortunate for such an one to attach himself to chemistry, altho' the general principles of the science it is certainly well to understand.

Congress has as yet come to no resolution indicative of their dispositions. But to-morrow the ground work will be laid by two resolutions: 1. That the violations of our rights by the belligerents ought not to be submitted to. 2. That all intercourse with the belligerent powers & their dependancies be suspended. This will leave the question of war or embargo uncommitted, and perhaps it will be thought best not to decide between them till near the close of the session. It is thought very doubtful how they would decide it at present, many believing there is a majority for war. This party will perhaps lose ground by time, and especially as a suggestion has been made to make another effort by offering categorically to both belligerents to elect between a repeal of their edicts & war, tightening the embargo in the mean time. This idea, however, is as yet only in embryo. My sincere affections attend on my dear Martha, yourself, & the children.

TH: JEFFERSON.

Mr. RANDOLPH.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO CHARLES L. BANKHEAD.*

WASHINGTON, Nov. 26, 08.

DEAR SIR, — Your favor of the 22^d is recieved, & that to Jefferson forwarded. I have made it the occasion of

* Husband of Jefferson's eldest grandchild, Anne Cary, daughter of Thomas Mann and Martha (Jefferson) Randolph. Mrs. Bankhead was born in January, 1790, and died February 11, 1826, less than five months before the death of her father. — EDS.

advising him to avoid the subject of politics in society, and generally indeed to shun disputation on every subject, which never did convince an antagonist, and too often alienates a friend, besides being always an uneasy thing to a good-humored society. Your letter does not tell me whether Anne & yourself are well, but I presume it because you have written, & she is about to write. I recieve with great pleasure your assent to my proposition of con-tubernation until the population of the hive shall force a swarm, or the crowd of clients call for & afford a separate establishment. I shall be at home about the middle of April, & were it not that I must proceed on the track of my caravan, which will be on the road, I would cross at Boyd's Hole, & take you up at Portroyal, and have the pleasure of paying my respects to your father & family, and of assuring them of the happiness I shall ever have in their visits to our hive. But you must do me the favor to assure them of this, & I must pursue the caravan to keep up stragglers and prevent the season of planting from getting ahead of me.

We are all politics here. Of the three alternatives, submission & tribute is scouted by three-fourths from the heart, & by the other fourth from the teeth outwards. Of the other two, embargo & war, the 1st. will probably prevail as yet, & the final decision between them be kept off to near the close of the session, when the season would admit of action. The odds and ends of different factions, which make up the schismatic fourth, will give their weight to whatever proposition leads to war with France & submission to England. You will see that one of them has already proposed the former. Assure my dear Anne of my constant love, & accept yourself my most friendly salutations.

TH: JEFFERSON.

C. L. BANKHEAD.

CATHARINE CRUGER TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

NEW YORK, Dec^r. 2^d, 1808.

SIR, — Is it presuming too far on your indulgence to hope that you will recall to remembrance a person who has for many years past been deprived of the pleasure of conversing with you? As it is much more natural to forget benefits conferred than received, I can easily imagine I may have escaped your recollection, whilst I must ever retain the most lively impressions of gratitude for the kindness & affection which charmed my infancy under your roof & which has sometimes honored my latter years by your obliging enquiries.

Mr. Cruger will have the honor of presenting you this. I need not, Sir, assure you of my desire to have availed myself of this occasion of offering you my respects in person; he will tell you that I had it in serious contemplation to perform the journey, but the season & my present state of health forbid this satisfaction. It is one of the sad prerogatives of our sex to be surrounded with so much care and prudence as to oblige us generally to forego our inclinations, & I own I am not a little disappointed at the failure of this agreeable project.

The object of Mr. Cruger's visit is of the highest importance to our interests, & to you, Sir, we must address our hopes & wishes. We have a very considerable estate in Santa Cruz, which in consequence of the Embargo is now suffering for supplies; the impossibility of furnishing them & consequently of receiving the produce will be a loss of such magnitude as will most essentially injure our fortune. There are also due to us in the island debts to a considerable amount, which the present state of affairs has rendered impossible to collect. These considerations, therefore, impose the necessity of repairing there immediately with a sufficient cargo to supply the estate & the

means of bringing home our property. From you, Sir, alone we can obtain a permission so important to our fortune at this moment, & I trust that the urgent reasons we offer will convince your judgment, whilst the embarrassment of our present situation will be too forcible an appeal to your indulgence to be resisted. I need not add that this favor will be received with the most heartfelt gratitude; the influence it will have on our welfare is so great that the debt of obligation never will be cancelled.

I hope to hear, Sir, that your health is perfectly good, & that in retiring from the cares of public life your prospects of happiness are such as your friends can desire. I must entreat you to remember me particularly to M^{rs} Randolph; my father & mother present their best com^{pts} & wishes. Adieu, Sir; permit me to offer you the assurance of my respectful regards & the particular esteem with which I have the honor to remain very much your's,

CATHARINE CRUGER.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO ANNE CARY BANKHEAD.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 8, 08.

MY DEAR ANNE, — Your letter of Nov. 26 came safely to hand, and in it the delicious flower of the Acacia, or rather the Mimosa Nilotica, from Mr. Lomax. The mother tree of full growth which I had when I gave him the small one, perished from neglect the first winter I was from home. Does his produce seed? If it does I will thank him for some, and you to take care of them; altho' he will think it a vain thing at my time of life to be planting a tree of as slow a growth. In fact the Mimosa Nilotica & Orange are the only things I have ever proposed to have in my green house. I like much your choice of books for your winter's reading. Middleton's Life of Cicero is among the most valuable accounts we have of the period of which he writes; & Tacitus I con-

sider as the first writer in the world without a single exception. His book is a compound of history & morality of which we have no other example. In your arithmetic, if you keep yourself familiar with the 4 elementary operations of addition, subtraction, multiplication, & division, or rather of addition & division, because this last includes subtraction & multiplication, it is as much as you will need. The rule of three, of universal utility, is a thing of meer common-sense; for if one yard of cloth costs 3 dollars, common-sense will tell you that 20 yards will cost 20 multiplied by 3. I inclose you a letter from Jefferson, which I presume will inform you he is well. Present my respects to Mr. Bankhead, and the good family you are with; also to my antient & intimate friend Mr. Lomax when you have the opportunity. To yourself my affectionate love.

TH: JEFFERSON.

M^{rs} BANKHEAD.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO THOMAS MANN RANDOLPH.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 13, 08.

DEAR SIR, — Jefferson wrote to me a few days ago to know whether he had ever had the smallpox, & added that till he could learn that fact he kept himself from the anatomical dissections, by advice of Dr. Wistar. I wrote him that I thought I recollected that he & Anne were inoculated in Richmond under your eye, but that I was not quite certain. Will you be so good as to give the answer by return of post that he may not lose the benefit of the dissections longer than necessary. We received last night the votes of N. York: 13 for Madison, as President, & Clinton, V. P.; 6 for Clinton, President, 3 Madison, V. P., and 3 Monroe, V. P. I inclose you 2 extra papers with the news from Europe. The inferences drawn from this information are that Bonaparte has settled every thing amicably in the North, that peace between

Russia & Sweden will be the consequence of their armistice, & probably the exclusion of England from the Baltic, & that Bonaparte will be left to execute his murderous purposes on Spain & Portugal at his leisure.

Here every thing is still uncertain. There is a sincere wish to take off the embargo before Congress rises, prevailing with every body but the Federalists, who (notwithstanding their clamours) it is perfectly known would deprecate it as their greatest calamity. The difficulty is how to separate the belligerents so as to have trade with one while we have war with the other; because a war with both continues the embargo in effect, with war added to it. Perhaps time may be taken till early in summer to get a repeal of edicts by one party, and Congress meet in May or June to declare war against the other. But this is conjectural. My love to my dear Martha & the young ones, and affectionate attachment to yourself.

TH: JEFFERSON.

T. M. RANDOLPH.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO THOMAS MANN RANDOLPH.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 2, 09.

DEAR SIR, — The general mind of Congress seems now to be rallying to a certain course of proceeding. A bill will be brought in to-morrow for convening Congress about the middle of May. It will be of course that in the debate members will declare the intention to be then to take off the embargo & if the belligerent edicts be not repealed to issue letters of marque & reprisal. This will let Europe see that our purpose is war, while not expressing it authoritatively. It will not engage their pride to persevere; at the same time it would quiet our own people by letting them see the term when the embargo is to cease. It had been thought that this would suffice to keep every thing quiet, but the monarchists of the North (who have been for some time fostering the hope of separ-

ation) have been able to make so successful use of the embargo as to have federalized the S. Eastern States & to endanger N. York, and they mean now to organize their opposition by the regular powers of their State governments. The Massachusetts legislature, which is to meet the middle of this month, it is believed, will call a convention to consider the question of a separation of the Union, & to propose it to the whole country east of the North River, & they are assured of the protection of Gr. Br. Their Republican members think that, if we will fix by law a day when the embargo shall cease (as some day in June), that this will satisfy so great a portion of their people as to remove the danger of a convention. This will probably be consented to with an addition that letters of marque & reprisal shall issue the same day. But they are apprehensive this addition may defeat the effect hoped from the repeal of the embargo. We must save the Union; but we wish to sacrifice as little as possible of the honor of the nation. But our difficulties do not end here; for if war takes place with England, we have no security that she will not offer neutrality & commerce to N. England, & that the latter will not accept it. In the mean time it is possible that England may be wrought upon, 1, by the documents published at the meeting of Congress which prove our fair conduct towards both countries, which she had affected not to believe; 2, by the determination of the Presidential election; 3, by the failure, so far, of expected insurrections in Massachusetts; 4, by the course of affairs in Spain, where there can be little doubt that Joseph is re-enthroned before this day. Parts of the country will hold out for a while, but the ultimate issue must very soon be visible. If these things have the effect they ought to have on a rational government they will prevent a war with us. The non-intercourse law will be past. This is a summary view of our present political condition.

I recieved yesterday a letter from Martha, inclosing the one which I now return. The request of Mr. Stith is impossible. We left to the delegates of every State to name all the officers for their State, so that there is not a single vacancy. She also desired me to return Moultrie's letter, but that has been necessarily filed in the war office. Mr. Moultrie is placed on the list of Cadets at West Point, but cannot be called into service till the spring, when he will recieve a call. This answer you can give him. Nothing stands in the way of Mr. Hackley but the continuance of an old servant of the public in the place. I think it probable he will resign; I am sure he would have done it had Mr. Hackley had the prudence to cultivate his friendship. He was led astray by Meade, & now discovering Meade's views on the office, I suspect they are separated. Mr. Madison will, however, be equally ready to accept Yznardi's resignation & appoint Mr. Hackley his successor.

Accept my affectionate salutations, & convey the same to my ever dear Martha & the young ones.

TH : JEFFERSON.

P. S. A letter of Dec. 28, from Jefferson, informs me he was well.

T. M. RANDOLPH.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO CHARLES L. BANKHEAD.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 19, 09.

DEAR SIR, — I have waited till I could execute Anne's commission as to the seed of the ice-plant, before acknowledging the receipt of her letter of Dec. 19 and your's of the 20th. I now inclose the seed, in the envelope of a pamphlet for Doct^r. Bankhead's acceptance. The case of Whistelo belongs to the physician, altho' here presented

as a case of law. I do not suppose, however, it will add to his knolege as a physician, or to your's as a lawyer, but it may amuse you both.

Altho' Congress has passed no bill which indicates their course, except the amendatory embargo bill, yet I think their minds are substantially made up, to meet in May with the avowed intention of then ending the embargo, & of issuing letters of marque & reprisal against the nations which shall have decrees against our rightful commerce then existing. About minor & preparatory measures there is difference of opinion, but on this none except from the Federalists, the Apostates, & 2 or 3 honest Republicans from the South, who (these last I mean) wish to try the embargo till the fall. In the mean time the disquietude in the North is extreme, & we are uncertain what extent of conflagration a spark might occasion. A line seems now to be drawing between the really republican Federalists & the English party, who are devoted, soul & body, to England & monarchy. There are circumstances which render it not entirely unexpected that England will repeal her decrees. This alone can save us from war in May. By that time, we hope, the militia or volunteers called for will be in readiness. I am now engaged in packing & breaking up my establishment here. I suppose I shall be detained to the middle of March. Mr Lomax writes me he has given Anne a small plant of the Acacia for me, with which I hope I shall meet you both at Monticello in March. I salute you both with great affection.

TH: JEFFERSON.

C. L. BANKHEAD, Esq.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO THOMAS MANN RANDOLPH.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 31, 09.

DEAR SIR, — I recieved in due time your kind letter of the 20th. Certainly I shall be much pleased to recieve your aid & counsel in the management of my farms, which will become so essential. My whole life has been past in occupations which kept me from any minute attention to them, and finds me now with only very general ideas of the theory of agriculture, without actual experience; at a time of life too when the memory is not so retentive of observation as at an earlier period. The tracts of land which I proposed to you to endeavor to sell are such as can be of little use to our family. I have acquired or kept them to furnish timber, but I am certain I never got an half per cent on their value in a year yet. A property yielding so little profit had better be sold and converted into more profitable form, and none can be more profitable, that is, yield so much happiness, as the paiment of debts, which are an unsufferable torment. Sharp and Crenshaw, who live near Pouncey's, told me they would rather undertake to crop on that land than on the best red land you or myself possessed. If you could find a purchaser, therefore, it might be at a price that might remove some more pressing calls. Perhaps the owner of Colle would buy the tract adjoining that. They can never be put to a better use, or one so pleasing to me, as in relieving your more valuable property from calls, and whether they go to pay your debts or mine is perfectly equal to me, as I consider our property as a common stock for our joint family.

The bill for the meeting of Congress on the 4th Monday of May is past. The resolution of Mr. Nicholas for repealing the embargo & issuing letters of marque & reprisal on a [blank] day was taken up yesterday. The impa-

tience of the people to the eastward has had a sensible effect on the minds of Congress. John Randolph moved to strike out the [blank day of blank] and insert *immediately*. This was rejected. He meant an immediate removal of the embargo, and to strike out the substitute of letters of marque & reprisal. Three days have been proposed for the blank, Feb. 15, Mar. 4, & June 1. The question will be between the two last. I rather expect the 1st of June will be preferred, but it is doubtful even now, and the sentiment of the legislature is obviously advancing on account of the discontents to the eastward. On these it is difficult to pronounce an opinion. A forcible opposition to the embargo laws may be expected; perhaps it will be countenanced by their legislature declaring the law unconstitutional. It is believed they will call a convention of the Eastern States, and perhaps propose separation. The time which this will take, will defeat the measure, by the expiration of the laws which is the ostensible ground of the procedure. With the Essex Junto it is ostensible only. Separation & annexation to England is their real object. But not so with the people, or even the real Federalists of the prominent kind. If we can avoid deeds of force on the land (in the execution of the law) the difficulty may pass over. But I do not think even that certain. I am not certain that if war be commenced against England, they will not accept neutrality & commerce if offered by England. Thus we are placed between the alternatives of abandoning our rights on the ocean, or risking a severance of the Union. My ultimate hope is in the good sense of the body of the people to the eastward who will think more dispassionately when the final question is proposed to them. My tender love to my dear Martha & the young ones, and affectionate salutations to yourself.

TH : JEFFERSON.

ROBERT PATTERSON * TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

PHILADELPHIA, July 6th, 1809.

SIR, — I have the pleasure to inform you that the people of Passamaquoddy are now furnished with a new object of pursuit, *gold finding*. There was yesterday brought to the Mint, as a deposit, part of a grain or lump of *native gold*, weighing 14 oz. $7\frac{1}{4}$ grs., which was lately found by a little boy, on Soward's Neck Beach, in the town(ship) of Eastport, near the mouth of the bay. This piece of gold when assayed was found to be 22 c. $0\frac{1}{2}$ gr. fine, or a little better than the U. S. or British standard. The alloy was nearly or altogether silver. It contained about $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of white quartz with which mineral native gold is frequently found united.

The piece when found, we are informed in a letter from a Mr. Stephen Jones of that place, weighed 2 lb. $3\frac{1}{2}$ oz. It is observed by Mr. Jones that the bank adjoining that part of the beach on which the piece of gold was found, is washed away several feet every year, and thus, no doubt, was the piece left bare on the surface of the beach.

These gifts of Providence have, indeed, been frequently the occasions of evil rather than of good to men, thro the eagerness which too many manifest to obtain gold at *first hand*, without the intermediate steps of honest labour in the ordinary pursuits of life. But still the discovery of this precious metal in different and distant parts of the U. States must be considered as important, especially as it regards the natural history of our country.

I have the honour to be, with sentiments of the greatest respect & esteem,

Your obedient servant,

R^r PATTERSON.

* Robert Patterson was born in Ireland May 30, 1743, and died in Philadelphia, July 22, 1824. In 1779 he became Professor of Mathematics in the University of Pennsylvania; this office he filled for thirty-five years. In 1805 he was appointed by Jefferson Director of the Mint, and he continued its chief executive officer down to his last illness. See Appleton's Cyclopædia of American Biography, vol. iv. pp. 672, 673. — Eds.

I take this opportunity of returning you my most grateful thanks for your kind letters of introduction in favour of my son Robert.* He left the capes of Delaware in the ship *Pekin*, on the 18th of last month.

WILLIAM PLUMER† TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

EPPING (N. H.), April 27, 1810.

MY DEAR SIR, — When I had the honor of communicating to you, at the city of Washington, my intention of compiling the history of our country from its discovery by Columbus to the present time, you was pleased to assure me that after your presidential term should expire, you would transmit me a number of manuscript & other documents in your possession, in relation to the great events in which you have been so distinguished an actor. All my leisure hours are devoted to collecting & arranging materials for my history. I consider it as the principal object of my future life. And any document or information you may please to communicate will be gratefully acknowledged.

Permit me, though late, but sincerely, to congratulate you on the success of Republicanism in this State in the last month's elections. The Governor & a majority of the Council, Senate, & House of Representatives are *real Republicans*. Your & my worthy friend, John Langdon, is

* Dr. Robert M. Patterson (born in Philadelphia, March 23, 1787; died there Sept. 5, 1854), graduated at the University of Pennsylvania in 1804, spent two years in Paris in study, and completed his education in London. On his return home, in 1812, he was chosen Professor of Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, and Mathematics in the University of Pennsylvania; and from 1828 to 1835 he occupied a similar chair in the University of Virginia. In the latter year he was appointed Director of the Mint, which office he held until 1851. See Appleton's *Cyclopædia of American Biography*, vol. iv. p. 673. — Eds.

† William Plumer was born in Newburyport, Mass., June 25, 1759, removed to New Hampshire at an early age, and died in Epping, June 22, 1850. He was a member of the United States Senate from 1802 to 1807, and Governor of New Hampshire 1812-1816, and again in 1817-18. His intended History of the United States was not completed; but he wrote largely for the newspapers, and at his death left a great mass of printed and manuscript matter of historical value. See Plumer's *Life of William Plumer*. — Eds.

governor-elect. To effect these elections, I devoted two months of my time in writing for the public journals; & it affords me much satisfaction that my labours were not in vain, though it diverted too much of my time from my historical pursuits.

The governor & lieutenant-governor of Massachusetts will be Republicans; but I fear a majority of their senate will be Federal, their representatives are not yet elected. The Rhode Island elections have terminated highly favourable in all the branches of their government.

This encrease of Republicanism in the Eastern States must afford at this eventful era great satisfaction to every friend to our Republican institutions; & certainly to [no?] one more than to yourself, who have devoted so large a portion of your active life in their formation, support, & defence.

I am, with sentiments of much respect and esteem, Sir,
Your most obedient humble servant,

WILLIAM PLUMER.

Hon. THOMAS JEFFERSON, Monticello, Virginia.

WILLIAM SHORT* TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

LIVERPOOL, June 19, 10.

DEAR SIR, — You will be surprized at receiving a letter from me from this place. I did not contemplate being here & still less being in Europe as late as this. My very great anxiety to be again in America to attend to some

* William Short was born in Spring Garden, Va., Sept. 30, 1759, graduated at William and Mary College, and died in Philadelphia, Dec. 5, 1849. When Jefferson was appointed minister to France in 1785, Short accompanied him as Secretary of Legation, and was made chargé d'affaires, in September, 1789. In January, 1792, he was transferred to the Hague as resident minister, and in December of the same year he was sent to Spain to assist in negotiating a treaty with that country. In May, 1794, he was made minister resident. Shortly after the signing of the treaty in October, 1795, he returned to this country, and was not afterward in public life. See Appleton's Cyclopædia of American Biography, vol. v. p. 516; Lanman's Biographical Annals, p. 385. — Eds.

of my affairs which required something to be immediately done, as the friend with whom I left my power to represent me at Philadelphia, Mr Breck, had died without naming a substitute, & Mr Butler, who had my power for N. York had come to Europe, & it was necessary to proceed there against a bankrupt whose affairs were so involved that although I had a mortgage to secure a very large debt to me, I was advised that a suit was urgent, &c., &c. There appeared to me at that time little certainty of a conveyance direct from France in April, the earliest season at which I chose to embark. The J. Adams was in England & expected to sail early in March without fail; the only other vessel which had any chance of returning was a vessel that had arrived at La Rochelle with passengers & to return again in the same way. It was then under a seizure by the *Douane*, & uncertain in the then state of things whether it w^d. be liberated, & if liberated would be extremely crowded. As at that time there was no other vessel (the [*illegible*] has since arrived at L'Orient, as I have heard), but none were expected when I took my determination to come by this country, as the most certain & the most immediate course. From France to England by means of the licensed vessels the communication is as safe & as convenient as possible. I came in a vessel of 400 tons from Dieppe, & indeed commerce was never busier or safer or more advantageous to the concerned between these two belligerents than now. They have contrived to shove the neutrals out of place & occupy it. "*Ote toi, que je m'y mette,*" was said to be the basis of the Revolution, & it is kept up in this respect. The owner of the ship in which I came was on board & very much amused at this state of things as to commerce, & admired the Emperor's talents & *savoir faire* in making it penal in other countries to furnish England with any thing in order that his own subjects might have the exclusive benefit of it. "Ma foi, messieurs les neutres ont

assez joui au depens d'autrui. Il n'est que trop juste que chacun ait son tour." "Ils ont à qui parler à present. L'Empreur leur fera bien rendre gage, je vous en reponds." This owner was an amiable, sprightly woman of about thirty, at the head of a considerable mercantile house in Normandy, & a most agreeable *compagne de voyage*. Although her doctrine would not stand the test of the obsolete *droit de gens*, & of which she cared as little as she knew, yet it was the doctrine & the practice of the day. I beg pardon for troubling you with this squint at politics. I am sure you are still more wearied with that kind of subject than I am. I was scarcely a party concerned during my late residence in America. I apprehend, from a few scattering American papers that I have seen, that I shall not be allowed the same tranquillity again. I see they represent me as wishing to put my country under the vassalage of a foreign power, which is so diametrically opposite to the truth that I was cautioning my government against the influence of that power eighteen years ago, & endeavoring to remove their delusion as to it when these very gentry were perhaps drinking, carousing, & throwing their hats up in the air to celebrate the triumphs of that very power,* & from that time to this I most certainly have never, by word or deed, given the least reason to believe that my sentiments had changed in that respect. As I have never been & hope I never shall be of any party, I have been of course considered as the enemy of each, upon the principle that he who is not for me is against me. It is surely a mortifying thing to have been in the hands of such a set; but as to me, who am only an individual & shall soon pass, it is of no consequence, but I feel & am ashamed for my poor country to be governed by such animals as the virtuous & moral D^r . . . , the wise & disinterested . . . , & the honest

* One of the most violent of these gentry against me told me that when he landed in France from England in '94 (the reign of Robespierre), he had kissed the earth to hail it as the land of liberty, & this man now chuses to abuse me as a partisan, &c. !

Republican. . . * I have long ago foretold that, from the nature of things, intrigue, baseness, & deception would, by degrees, gain more & more ground & finally triumph. I shall consider myself hereafter as a mere looker-on. I really pity Mr M. He does not know the wheel within the wheel on which they roll him, & from which they will let him down whenever they have no further need of him. If he knew what I could tell him he would be mortified; but I do not believe that he would or could remedy any thing. It is therefore as well for him not to know it. "Where ignorance is bliss, &c., &c." From me he shall never know it. I hope that our government will continue to secure two of the great objects of government, security of persons & security of property. In these times it is what very few governments do; & therefore as a moderate man I shall be contented with that & ask no more, & meerly look on whilst the country at large allows the spoils of power to be contended for by the active & ambitious, & votes them to the most fortunate in intrigue & the most criminal in their conduct.

But to return to my voyage. I came to this country to embark on the April packet. I unfortunately was induced to give up that idea under the opinion of my friends that I should be much better in a merchant vessel. I came here to embark in one finally which held out every advantage in prospect, but the whole turned out a complete deception. Such as were then here were small & indifferent vessels. Since the renewal of intercourse numberless very fine ones have arrived, & I shall embark in the first of them which shall sail. Although I shall lose much as to season I shall gain more, it is thought, as to accomodation. Mr Erving, who takes charge of a letter for the President, in w^{ch} this will be inclosed, is more pressed & a good sailor. He takes his

* Mr. Short did not write out the names of the persons to whom he referred, and their identity can only be conjectured. — Eds.

passage in a small despatch-vessel that will sail in a day or two & will have probably a very quick passage. I shall not sail until the middle or perhaps end of July. I go to pass the interval in excursions into the country & to Buxton or some other watering-place, & to see some English races.

I ask the favor of you to receive the inclosed papers, being ten certificates for \$14651.76^c of 3 p.^{ct} stock which I had purchased in London by way of remitting that sum to America, & the powers for transferring them. The papers are : 1^o, Extract legalized from the Registry of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury. 2^o, Power of attorney from the Exec^{rs}. of Hilbert to Smith to sell the funds. 3^o, Power of att^y. in blank from Smith for transferring the stock to me, to which are annexed the ten original certificates. It will be necessary to fill the blank with the name of some person at Washington, that they may by the transfer to me there obtain a new certificate in my name. I wish this to be done & the stock to be transferred to the books at Philadelphia for me. I would not have given you this trouble if I had been sure of M^r Barnes, or D^r Tucker or M^r Nourse being still there, but I know no other of whom I could ask it. I will thank you to send these papers to any one there you may think proper. They have only to put their name as is usual in the blank of the power, & then transfer the certificates to me, & ask that the amount (in one certificate if it can be done) may be placed for me on the books at Philadelphia. It is necessary that this should be done as soon as possible, & essential that it should be done before the middle of Sep^t, otherwise the $\frac{1}{4}$ interest due the 1st of October cannot be paid to me but must be paid to the present holder, in whose name the certificates now stand on the books at Washington. I will thank you to desire whomever you may employ at Washington to send the new certificate (as soon as it can be got at Washington) to M^r George Taylor, J^r., 2^d Street, Phila-

delphia, who will have it placed on the books there, & where it will then stand in my name. But it must be there before the books of transfer close in Sep^r. These funds proceed from what I had purchased in the French funds when they were low. I left them there when I went to America, & on my return to France they had risen so much that they sold for a great advance on what I gave for them, & then the exchange from Paris on London gained at the time that the bills were purchased for me 20 p^{ct}.—the exchange had been even to 25. This is one of the numberless unaccountable phenomena in the commercial world at present, where the practise turns out almost invariably contrary to what appeared the best theory. The most able calculators here acknowledge this. They content themselves with the fact with which they have every reason to be satisfied, & leave the explanation to those who chuse to undertake it. This is a much longer letter than I had intended to send you. I will, however, end it here, & add only my best wishes for your & your family's health & happiness.

Your friend & servant,

W. SHORT.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO WILLIAM PINKNEY.*

MONTICELLO, July 15, 10.

DEAR SIR, — I again trouble you with letters from Mr. Bradbury to his friends in England. He is a botanist &

* William Pinkney, eminent both as a lawyer and statesman, was born in Annapolis, Md., March 17, 1764. His first purpose was to become a physician, but he afterward determined to adopt the law as a profession, and was admitted to the bar in 1786. Ten years later he was appointed one of the commissioners under Jay's treaty, to determine the claims of American merchants for losses occasioned by acts of the English government. He remained in England until 1804, and in the following year he was appointed Attorney General of Maryland. In 1806 he was again sent to England to treat with the English government as joint commissioner with Mr. Monroe; and after Mr. Monroe's return he was made resident minister, which post he filled until 1811. Subsequently he was Attorney General of the United States, a member of the House of Representatives, minister to Russia and special envoy to Naples, and member of the Senate from 1819 to his death at Washington, Feb. 25, 1822. (See Appleton's *Cyclopædia of American Biography*, vol v. p. 26; *Lanman's Biographical Annals*, p. 337.) Jefferson has inadvertently written the name Pinckney. — Eds.

naturalist of high qualifications & merit, and is now engaged in exploring Upper Louisiana. I feel a real interest in his pursuits, the result of which so far is communicated in some of these letters. On politics I have little to say, and little need be said to you who are better informed from another quarter. You will have seen that Massachusetts, N. Hampshire, & R. island have got back to the ground which a temporary delusion induced them to quit for a moment. Unfortunately it was a moment decisive of our destiny. I speak of that which produced a repeal of the embargo. Considerable discontent was certainly excited in Massachusetts, but it's extent was magnified infinitely beyond it's reality, and an intrigue of (I believe) not more than two or three members, reputed Republicans, excited in Congress a belief that we were under the alternative of civil war or a repeal of the embargo, and the embargo was repealed. Thus were we driven by treason among ourselves from the high & wise ground we had taken, and which, had it been held, would have either restored us our free trade, or have established manufactures among us. The latter object will still be obtained, at least as to household manufacture, which is more than the half in value of what we have heretofore recieved from abroad. But the imprudent adventures of our merchants have put into the hands of the robbers by sea & land, much of the capital which the embargo had secured for employment in manufactures. I am supremely happy in being withdrawn from these turmoils, but cannot but interest myself for my friends still engaged in them, and wishing you all "a good deliverance," I beg leave to add to yourself the assurances of my friendly attachment & high respect.

TH : JEFFERSON.

H. E. WILLIAM PINCKNEY.

WILLIAM SHORT TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 1, 10.

DEAR SIR, — I have delayed, much longer than I had intended, to answer your favor of the 21st Sep., & to thank you for your wonted kindness in attending to the commission I took the liberty of troubling you with. It was executed as you expected & ready for me here, whither I came after whiling away the sickly season in the Jersey & at Morrisville, which you know is become the seat of Gen^l Moreau.* I have returned to fix myself permanently in America, & with that view have transferred hither the property I had in France, where I once purposed residing. The circumstance which would have made that residence indispensable, I wished many years ago to abandon from a full conviction that it would not have produced the happiness contemplated. I was not at liberty, however, to follow my own ideas until the same conviction could be wrought in the mind of each party concerned. This happily has been done by time & reflexion, so as to leave unimpaired the ties of perfect & long established friendship. It is acknowledged that the sacrifice of country is too great to be asked under present circumstances. Many of the charms of that country are now lost, however, for its ancient inhabitants, their situation, their society, & their ancient habits are more changed than can be imagined, by the present state of things. Strange as it may appear, I found them much more dissatisfied now (although really their property & their persons are more secure or less insecure) than under the Directory, even in its worst times, when there was *L'emprunt forcé, la Loi des Ôtages, &c.* At that time they all suffered alike, & were perfectly

* Jean Victor Moreau, the victorious commander at Hohenlinden, born at Morlaix, in Britany, August 11, 1763, died at Laun, in Bohemia, September 2, 1813, was exiled to the United States in 1804, and remained here until June, 1813, when he returned to France. See Nouvelle Biographie Générale, tome xxxvi. pp. 483-495. — Eds.

separated from the government. At present Bonaparté, by bribing some members of some families & by forcing others to put on his livery, has divided them among themselves & has made families formerly the most united, now the most divided, introduced reserve, suspicion, envy, & hatred among them. There is no doubt, if he should live the 30 years which he threatens to do, that he will subdue the pride of all, & although he will not gain their hearts, he will make them as generally, & much more basely, courtiers than Louis the 14th did. Like all *parvenus* he is susceptible & exacts much more (& will obtain all he exacts) than any of those sovereigns of that country who were called tyrants by those who are now the most shameless adulators of this meek, good soul whom they call the Father of his people.

One cause of my delaying to answer your letter was that I had not fully made up mind whether I would enter with you on the subject of politics, & communicate through you the observations I had made. Reflexion, however, & the persuasion that it would do no good, together with the possibility of its bringing me into contact or rather into opposition & collision when I wish to be quiet, make me resolve to keep out of the line of such things. I mean to end my days as tranquilly as I can & avoid the pelting of storms that I cannot direct.

My present intention is to make Philadelphia my head quarters. A city is necessary to a single man, & I prefer this to our other cities. I shall travel in the summers until I procure a farm in some of the mountainous parts of this State, & make a merino establishment. If you have not forgotten what I wrote to you on that animal previous to my former return from France, you will see that I early estimated its value in this country, though far below what the practise has shown it to be. I stated then & I still think that the barren lands at the foot of your mountains were most admirably adapted to this purpose. I wish that

it may be found so & acted on & that I could sell Indian camp to some undertaker in that way. If you know of any means of disposing of it *en gros ou en detail*, or if M^r Randolph should know of any, I should be glad to learn it. I have not heard a tittle from Price since I sailed. I see only by M^r Geo. Jefferson's acc^t. that he has made him some remittances, but I suppose the land has been injured to a greater value. I put this under your protection when I went away, but I fear that you have not been able to prevent the evils attendant on such cases. I shall write to Price & ask him to let me know the present state. I take it for granted that you are deriving great pleasure from agricultural pursuits. I hope you have some of the merino blood in your stock. It will give me great pleasure to go & see you & I will take the first opportunity of profiting of your kind invitation. I suppose you have M^r Randolph & his family with you; that I think was your intention. It will certainly be most agreeable for all parties.

The Abbé Rochon requested me to be particular in speaking to you of him, so did the Abbé Morellet, M^{de} de Tessé, & M^{de} d'Houdetot; the latter I saw again after my return, though I had ceased seeing her before my departure. La Fayette remembers you with gratitude. He was to have sent me a letter here relative to his lands, &c., but I have not recieved it. I have a letter by Count Pahlen from M^{de} de Tessé, in which she gives me an account of the Imperial wedding preparations. Sir Francis d'Ivernois gave me a copy of his last work for you & another for M^r Adams.* They were inclosed & directed by him in the form of a letter to each; as I was detained at Liverpool, I forwarded these packets by a vessel which sailed before me. I hope you received yours. Have you seen a pamphlet

* Francois d'Ivernois was born in Geneva in 1757, and died there March 16, 1842. He was a voluminous writer on economical and historical subjects. See *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*, tome xxvi. pp. 128-130. — Eds.

written by a gentleman of this place? It is without a name to it; the title, "A Brief View of the Policy & Resources of the United States, comprising some Strictures on a Letter on the Genius & Dispositions of the French Government." This latter part of the title, I believe, has prevented its being read, as it is like making Strictures on the Gospel. The "Brief View" has certainly many excellent remarks in it, though like all human productions that relate to foreign countries, it has many errors also. The "Letter on the Genius, &c.," is the pamphlet that has obtained so much celebrity in England, to which it is extremely flattering.

You recollect our calculating, acute countryman D^r. Parker, without doubt. He was engaged when I left him in giving an analysis of the British debt, & had gone through it with great labor. He had come to these results, which he communicated to me, & which may be counted on: 1^o, That supposing the British government were to make no more loans, & to go on with the present taxes & present system of sinking the national debt, the whole would be extinguished in the year 1830, viz., in twenty years from this time; 2^d, Supposing the present rate of taxes to be continued, without any augmentation whatever, & the government to borrow 12 millions st^{ls} a year, the whole debt (including the successive annual loans of 12 millions), would be extinguished in the year, I think, of 1845, but certainly not many years beyond it. This was so different from what I had always expected myself, & heard said by others, that I know not how to credit it, notwithstanding my confidence in Parker & his penetrating head in such cases. He gave me these results as it were under the rose, for such is the state of things where he is that he would be unwilling to be known as the author or discoverer of such a heresy, & he feels no disposition to act like Galileo in the support of this truth. Bonaparte has declared England is without a government & that the

nation is on the eve of bankruptcy, & this must therefore be supported as orthodox by every one who writes on the subject. On arriving in London I mentioned these results to A. Baring* (who has more accurate knowledge in this line, & a more steady & acute head than any one I saw), & asked his opinion as to the justness of these calculations. His answer was that he could not say with precision whether the results were absolutely correct, but that certainly the error, if any, could not be great. Baring, as you know, is decidedly in the opposition, & disposed to see things in opposition to the ministry. But he gave a better proof than his meer word of what his opinions were as to the solidity & manageability of the debt, for whilst I was in London he contracted for the loans, being the lowest bidder, & took the whole both for England & Ireland on himself. The terms he took them on were lower than had ever been given since the commencement of the war. Thus it must be acknowledged that the French government is as much mistaken in supposing that the English is getting to its last guinea, as the English government is in supposing that the French is getting to its last conscript. Every succeeding year supplies the exhaustion of the preceding, & no one can say when the moment will come that either will be unable to continue the war as at present.

My letter has grown far beyond the limits I had intended. I end in assuring you of the sentiments of attachment with I am most sincerely,

Your friend & servant,

W. SHORT.

I take the liberty of inclosing an open letter for Price, which I ask the favor of you to read & forward to him.

* Alexander Baring, first Baron Ashburton. — Eps.

WILLIAM SHORT TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 31, 10.

DEAR SIR, — I had the pleasure of writing to you on the 1st of Nov., & I took the liberty at the same time of inclosing a letter for Price, as being the best, if not the only certain means of getting a letter to him. I hope that was recieved by you, but it has not procured of Price the answer I had counted on. I had hoped it would have conquered his aversion to writing. After so long an interval, I no longer expect it, without a second jogging of his memory, & I would ask the favor of you to send for him & to desire him to give me the information I wish for, if I were not unwilling to add the trouble; I therefore again subjoin a second summons for Price from myself. I feel now that I was wrong in having this estate subdivided, as it multiplies trouble, & produces no profit, & probably injures the estate. In this, as in most other things that have come within my observation, & particularly my experience, the practise contradicts the theory.

I saw Mr Warden for a few minutes some days ago on his passing through this place to New York. He told me he had been to Monticello, & that you & your family were well. I learn always with great pleasure whatever thus contributes to your happiness. The life you at present lead I know to be so conformable to your taste that I do not doubt it will be long preserved, & insure you health & happiness. For this you have my most sincere & best wishes. As to myself, I stated in my last my reasons for passing the rest of the journey w^{ch}. I am to continue on this earth, as a silent spectator of scenes which I am sure I could not prevent. I think I see how much ill might be avoided at least, if not much good effected. But I see with equal certainty that I could not

make others see it — or if perchance I could, they would not have the courage, perhaps not the power, to attempt it. The present state of things is too profitable, I apprehend, to some of the concerned, for them to admit of a different course, & they are *sine quibus non*. In short, the affairs of this world are so generally under the management of fools, when left to a great number, that the inevitable consequence seems to be that knaves by degrees learn the art & mystery of governing & directing affairs for their own benefit, by keeping out of sight & making the fools believe that they themselves are the only masters, — just as an intriguing wife cajoles a stupid husband, or as a practised courtier flatters & feeds on a weak monarch. It seems clear that we are to begin on the 2^d of Feb. a new course of non-intercourse with England. Time will shew all, & those who are acquainted with the present state of affairs in Europe, & particularly in England, have no need of time to know that this will lead to exactly the contrary of what is contemplated by our legislators. It will injure us much more than it will England, & it will give immense advantages of speculation to a few here at the expense of the rest. Thus the ambition as well as the avarice of these few (who, however, only act for the public good & to coerce the tyrant of the seas) will be promoted; & thus we shall see that instead of private vices being public benefits, public misfortunes will be private gains. The British possessions of Canada & Nova Scotia will receive premiums for their prosperity from our own laws; the morality of our custom houses, which was proverbial, will be a vain name; smugglers will be making & losing fortunes; the honest merchant & the great mass will suffer, and when they have suffered enough under this experiment, their representatives will be forced to give it up, & either yield *in toto* or make some new trial. For even Bonaparte has found it impossible to carry into execution his laws

against the purse & the prejudice of all; how, then, can we suppose that those chosen by the great mass will be able to effect it? And yet I have no doubt our legislators will make this experiment, judging from what I see in the papers.

You did not tell me if you received Sir F. d'Ivernois's pamphlet.* He addressed a copy to you & another to Mr Adams. Have you seen a pamphlet of Oddy† (the writer on commerce) on the subject of canals, in which he states the late increase of the English American colonies, in shipping, & in the exportation of wood. You know, I suppose, the late law for nurturing this discovery. It is certainly right & moral in every government to endeavor to obtain what is just from others by peaceable means if they can, & the experiment which we made under that hope was fair & proper. The experiment failed; it is of no consequence how it failed. Ought not experience to enlighten our legislators, & to prevent their persisting in what has failed? This non intercourse is but a weaker effort—how can they hope to effect by it what the stronger could not effect? As it is evident that they will not make war for those injuries of which they complain from G. B., nor for the grossest violations of a positive treaty with France, would it not be better if they would at once come to the open & candid determination of allowing commerce, when out of our limits & out of their control, to shift for & protect itself? I wrote to you on this subject whilst I was in France. I know not if you recieved my letter. It has been thought by some able men that this would be the best system for all governments. There can be no question, I think, that

* See note, *ante*, p. 147. The pamphlet here referred to is entitled, "Effects of the Continental Blockade upon the Commerce, Finances, Credit, and Prosperity of the British Islands." A copy, "The Gift of the Author," is in the library of this Society. — Eds.

† J. Jepson Oddy, author of a quarto volume on European Commerce, published in 1810 a pamphlet on the improvement of commercial, political, and local interests by internal navigation. — Eds.

there is no government & no circumstance to which it could be so applicable as to ours at present. If you think so, I wish you would exert the force of your counsel to have the attempt now made. I doubt any thing being able to stop the present career of the present Congress, for the reason I mentioned; but if the counsel of any individual could have weight, it certainly would be yours.

Genl. A. has gone to Washington.* I saw him on his way through here. I know not what are his plans or his views. I do not believe that those who are on the box, & who are driving M^r M., will allow him to get on the box by the side of them. He, I should suppose, has more talent than they have, & if so they will be afraid to trust him there lest he should take the reins from them.

I remember you thought three years ago that the charter of the Bank would be renewed. I was certain then that it would be opposed by some powerful individuals. I judged of this from the nature of things — I know little of them — but I see nothing decided against their will, & therefore I did not think this would be. I sold the shares I had in the Bank for a much higher price than they now are at. I have no personal interest therefore in the institution, but I am not the less anxious that the charter should be renewed, as I see clearly immense misfortunes, not only to the commercial but the agricultural & other classes, if there should be a sudden dissolution on the 4th of March next. There can be no doubt that the individual who is the most active & will have the most influence in preventing the renewal, & probably will prevent it, will himself suffer much loss & inconvenience also. What mode he has of indemnifying himself I know not. I look really with anxiety to the present session of Congress. I love my country, & be-

* The reference is probably to Gen. John Armstrong, author of the "Newburg Letters," and minister to France from 1804 to 1810. — Eds.

sides, I know & feel that I must sink or swim with it. Although I have nothing to do with the handling the ropes of the vessel, yet I cannot but see with anxiety the bad weather & the rolling sea in which we are. I took up my pen to write a few lines, & here is a long letter. I will not add to it more than to ask the favor of you to send the inclosed to Price, & should you perchance see him, to urge the necessity of his sending me the information I ask. My best wishes. Your friend & servant,

W. SHORT.

Where does Monroe live? I sent him a letter from one of his friends on my arrival. I have never heard from him whether he recieved it.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO MARY PAGE.*

MONTICELLO, Mar. 4, 1811.

DEAR MADAM, — Your favor of Jan. 2 by some unusual course of the post was near a month before it reached this place, to which a further delay has been added by my absence of upwards of a month from home, to which I returned but two days ago. I make it among my first duties to acknolege it's reciept, to offer this apology for so late a reply, and to give you assurances of the pleasure I should receive from any act of service I could render any member of my late friend's family. His merit, & my estimation of it authorised him to count on any attentions which his friends could render to his family. To my

* This lady was, perhaps, connected by marriage with the family of Gov. John Page, see *ante*, p. 120. In the letter to which this is an answer, she says her son John T. Page "is at present out of employment," and "seems to think he can act as manager over a few negroes, or perhaps as an under clerk." "He read law for a short time with Genl Minor." She adds: "My object is to get him in some employment immediately, and thinking your regard for his deceased father will induce you to try to get him into some business encourages me to apply to you." She wishes the answer to her application to be "directed to Mill Wood, Frederick County, Virginia." — Eds.

wishes, however, of being useful, my present situation is not friendly, and the want of a more particular knowledge of Mr. J. T. Page's views, acquirements, & habits of life, render it difficult even to suggest any openings for occupation which might suit him. You mention the place of a clerk as one he would be willing to undertake. There are at Washington a great number of clerkships in the offices of the departments of the government, which offer an easy service, and salaries equal to the maintenance of a single man. I know also, however, that the vacancies in them are not frequent & the competitors numerous. The friendship of the President, I am sure would induce him to befriend your son, in case of any vacancy. Should he prefer the occupation of the law in the Western country, one of those you mention as within his view, it would certainly make him more independant & contented. His success in that would depend on himself alone and would open a prospect of bettering his situation. The army & navy offer frequent openings for appointment, in which again we might count on the friendship of the President. If any thing which either myself or my friends can do may aid him in any pursuit wherein our agency can be used, I freely tender every good office I can render him, and avail myself with great pleasure of this occasion of renewing to you the assurances of my friendship & attachment & offering the homage of my sincere & high respect.

TH: JEFFERSON.

M^{rs}. MARY PAGE.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO JAMES MADISON.

MONTICELLO, Apr. 7, 11.

DEAR SIR, — Your favors of Mar. 18 and Apr. 1 have been duly recieved. The extract from Armstrong's letter of July 28, 08, which you desire is in these words: "My

poor friend Warden * writes to you, & asks from you the appointment of consul for this place. I could not promise to do more than send his letter. He is an honest and amiable man, with as much Greek & Latin & chemistry & theology as would do for the whole corps of consuls ; but, after all, not well qualified for business. You have seen an order of scavans, really well informed, who, notwithstanding, scarcely knew how to escape from a shower of rain when it happened to beset them. He is of that family. No, the man for this place ought to be a man of business, as well as a gentleman." He then goes on to put Leavenworth's pretensions out of the way, should he have proposed himself. The letter is headed "private," altho relating as much to public as private transactions. What I saw of Warden during the ten days or fortnight he staid here, satisfied me that he merited all the good which Armstrong says of him, & that he was by no means the helpless & ineffective man in business which he represents him to be. I knew, when I recieved the letter, that Armstrong's fondness for point and pith rendered it unsafe to take what he said literally. He is cynical & irritable & implacable. Whether his temper or his views induced his dismissal of Warden, his persecution of him now will render public benefit by the developement of his character. I have never heard a single person speak of Warden who did not rejoice in his appointment, and express disapprobation of Armstrong's conduct respecting him ; and I am perfectly satisfied that, if the appointment is made to attract public attention it will be approved. The other subject of uneasiness which you express must, I know, be afflicting. You will probably see it's effect in the secret workings of an insatiable family. They may sow discontent, but will neither benefit themselves nor injure you by it. The confidence of the public

* David B. Warden. He had been Secretary of Legation under Armstrong, when the latter was minister to France, and was for many years consul-general at Paris. — Eds.

is too solid to be shaken by personal incidents. I do sincerely rejoice that Monroe is added to your councils. He will need only to perceive that you are without reserve towards him, to meet it with the cordiality of earlier times. He will feel himself to be again at home in our bosoms, and happy in a separation from those who led him astray. I learn that John Randolph is now open-mouthed against him & Hay.* The letter which I wrote lately to Wilkinson was one of necessity written to thank him for his book which he sent me.† He says nothing in his letter of the anonymous letter in Clarke's book to which you allude. I have never seen Clarke's book, & know nothing of its contents.‡ The only part of my letter which regards Wilkinson himself is in these words: "I look back with commiseration on those still buffeting the storm, & sincerely wish your Argosy may ride out, unhurt, that in which it is engaged. My belief is that it will; & I found that belief on my own knowledge of Burr's transactions, on my view of your conduct in encountering them, and on the candour of your judges." These are truths which I express without reserve whenever any occasion calls for them. Whatever previous communications might have passed between Burr & Wilkinson on the subject of Mexico, I believe that on the part of the latter it was on the hypothesis of the approbation of the government. I never believed W. would give up a dependance on the government under whom he was the first, to become a secondary & dependant on Burr. I inclose you a letter from Père Gabriel. In a Note of unfinished business

* George Hay, United States District Attorney for Virginia, and son-in-law of James Monroe. He had conducted the prosecution of Aaron Burr. — Eds.

† The letter to General Wilkinson here referred to is printed in Washington's edition of the Writings of Thomas Jefferson, vol. v. pp. 572, 573. — Eds.

‡ The book referred to is an octavo volume of nearly three hundred and fifty pages, entitled "Proofs of the Corruption of Gen. James Wilkinson, and of his Connexion with Aaron Burr, with a full Refutation of his slanderous Allegations in Relation to the Character of the principal Witness against him. By Daniel Clark of the City of New Orleans." It is not mentioned in Allibone's Dictionary of Authors; but there is a copy in the library of this Society. — Eds.

which I left with you, you will see exactly how far he had a right to expect the government would go in aid of his establishment. I fear the glimmering of hope that England might return to reason has past off with the return of her mad king to power. Present me affectionately to Mrs. Madison, and be assured of my best wishes for your health & happiness, and that your labours for the public may be crowned with their love.

TH: JEFFERSON.

THE PRESID^T. U. S.

WILLIAM C. RIVES* TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Thomas Jefferson, late President of U. S., Monticello.

OAK-RIDGE, August 30th, 11.

MY DEAR SIR, — Since I had the pleasure of being at Monticello, the unsettled state of my health has totally disqualified me for intellectual exertion. Indeed, for the last two years, either the incapacity resulting from this cause or the avocations of business have materially obstructed my desire of knowledge, by taking away the physical power of obtaining it. The former evil being now partially removed by a recent visit to the Springs, I am determined, in spite of the latter, to renew my studies with energy & zeal. But finding myself deficient in those elementary parts of learning which serve as a scaffolding for higher attainments, & having always meditated a recurrence to them when circumstances should favour my design, I must adopt some new arrangement for the purpose of comprehending them in my future course. The subjects to which I allude are Mathematics, Physics, the

* William Cabell Rives, known both as a statesman and a man of letters, was born in Nelson County, Va., May 4, 1793, was educated at Hampden-Sidney College and at William and Mary College, and died at Castle Hill, near Charlottesville, Va., April 25, 1868. He was a member of the House of Representatives of the United States from 1822 to 1828, at two different periods a Senator, and twice Minister to France. His most important literary work was his unfinished "Life and Times of James Madison." See Appleton's Cyclopædia of American Biography, vol. v. p. 267. — EDS.

Antient, & some of the Modern Languages, all of which will become subservient, either directly or indirectly, to my ultimate profession. In order to incorporate these with my other studies, it will be necessary, however, to make the reading of Law for some time a secondary object; nor will the temporary abridgement of my legal researches be at all inconvenient, as I am not anxious to precipitate the period of active employment. It will be necessary likewise, to change the scene of my literary labours, for the difficulties of Mathematics cannot be easily overcome without the aid of an instructor or the co-operation of a fellow-student, the principles of Natural Philosophy cannot be distinctly understood without experimental proofs, and the dull exercise of committing grammars & vocabularies to memory cannot be patiently endured without sharing it with a companion. Possessing none of these advantages at home, I have been induced to look abroad for a more favourable situation, and bounding my view by the limits of the State, I have at length selected Williamsburg as the best. I have not extended my view to other States, because it appears desirable that every person should receive his education in the particular State which is destined to be the theatre of his future life, as he is thereby better enabled to accommodate himself to the tone of feelings & manners which prevail among his fellow-citizens. In Wms.burg there are able professors in all the departments I have mentioned. As a mathematician, Mr. Blackburn is supposed to be inferior to no man in Virginia, and the original simplicity of his method of instruction entitles him to the first rank as a teacher. Bishop Madison, I believe, has acted a distinguished part in the philosophical transactions of his own country, and in Europe his name is highly respected. The professor of modern languages, also, is said to be a man of considerable erudition, & possesses a critical & complete knowledge of the French, which is his vernacular tongue. To

these advantages I may superadd the edifying society of studious & enlightened young men of whom there are at least six or seven at that place in years of the greatest scarcity.

The very friendly disposition which you have manifested towards me, together with your experience in matters of this kind particularly & the rectitude of your judgement on all, has emboldened me to solicit your remarks & advice on the subject of my future course. Will you do me the favour, Sir, to say whether you consider Wms.burg an eligible situation for the objects I propose, and if not, what other you would recommend? I desire to be most respectfully presented to Mr. & Mrs. Randolph & their family, and with zealous prayers for the continuance of your health & happiness,

I have the honour to be your mo. obt. serv.

W^m. C. RIVES.

WILLIAM SHORT TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

NEW YORK, NOV. 19, 11.

DEAR SIR, — I was exploring the Jersey Mountains in search of a farm when your favor of the 15th Oct. was forwarded here, agreeably to directions left with my agent at Philadelphia as to my letters. I did not succeed in my search, but hope to be more successful next year.

Let me now express all my thanks for your kindness as to Ind. Camp. I am indeed truly obliged by it, & prefer much the plan of allowing the leases to remain quietly as they are. Should an offer be made, it will then be time to see what arrangement can be made, or what will be best to be done. I am glad to see you think the land cheap at 10 d. I shall be satisfied perfectly with the price, & particularly if the purchaser will pay the interest with punctuality. In that case it will be a kind of property which will suit one in my situation much better than land,

although if I had a family I should be of a very different opinion & should prefer land to any thing.

Some time ago, having occasion to write to M^r Wickham on my law business with my worthy friend & relation Col^o S., I mentioned to him my wish to sell this land. I had hope it might suit him, as I know he is a land purchaser. He told me he did not wish it himself, but would aid me in the sale as far as he could, & that he would direct the land to be viewed by the father of his manager, who lived near it. This was, I think, more than a year ago — I believe indeed on my return to this country — & if I am not mistaken I mentioned the price of 10 dol^s. to him. I have found here on my return from the Jersey a letter on Col^o. S.'s business from M^r Wickham, & in it he tells me that his manager, M^r Sampson, has visited the lands, & that his father-in-law, M^r Rogers, who lives near them & is well acquainted with the price & value of lands, has also viewed them & is to give an opinion which he duly expects. M^r W. adds, "from what I can learn they would command from 10 to 12 dols. p acre, on the usual terms of sale." Still, as I have said above, I shall be perfectly satisfied with 10 dol^s. as being a more convenient arrangement for me than holding lands. Should M^r W. find a purchaser he will of course inform me of it, & I shall do nothing without first communicating with you.

I have a letter from M^{de} de Tessé of March last, of which this is an extract: "Presentez mes plus tendres & plus respectueux hommages à M^r. Jefferson, dans toutes les occasions où cela vous sera possible. Je ne suis pas encore consolée de ne plus trouver de ses beaux discours dans les gazettes. Si vous êtes assez heureux pour aller à Monticello il seroit bon de vous mettre pour un petit moment à genoux devant mon autel. J'aimerois bien à scavoir si vos ennemis ont conservé leur credit, si votre Gouvernement s'obstine à ignorer qu'on reconnoit jamais bien les mœurs d'un pays dont on ne parle pas la langue, & que le patriotisme

ne supplie pas aux lumières, &c.” I endeavored to explain to her & others the state of my case, but it was telling the *fabulam surdo*. And she is in this a proof in point of her own maxim above, as to not knowing *les mœurs d’un pays*; & the government, administration, & views of a country may be included as well as the *mœurs*.

I am now inclined to believe that it is necessary, not only to have the language, but to be personally present to possess a knowlege of a foreign country, in this century of unceasing changes. On my return to France I found such a perfect revolution in every thing that it was quite a new country & to be studied over again. Notwithstanding I had kept up a correspondence with my friends there, yet events had succeeded with so much rapidity that I was totally in arrear, and the first month it was a matter of great amusement to my friends & myself to be learning from them at every moment events of real importance & still operating their effect, of which I had never heard or dreamed. I was like La Peyrouse in the little comedy which was written in the year 1790, in which he is made to arrive at Paris; where of course he finds nothing as he left it in 85, & had to ask the explanation of every thing.

I had an opportunity, by going from France to England, of verifying the perfect state of ignorance in which these two countries are with respect to each other. When you consider that they are separated by only seven leagues of water, & that there is much communication, it really passes all comprehension. It is not always safe to endeavor to rectify errors of this kind, because it is necessary to begin by telling people that they are mistaken, & that you know better than they do. They will very certainly not believe you in the first place, & in the second they will probably be displeased by you, & particularly if you enter as a volunteer. Chance gave me whilst in France an opportunity of being admitted further into the secret cabinet

of the leader, or rather the driver, there than can possibly happen to any one but by chance, & I can aver that the real feelings & views, particularly the former, as to this country, are considered there as very different from what they are here. I do not think it right to commit to paper the source through which this came to me, but I will do so when I have the pleasure of seeing you. In England I met with an old acquaintance formed a great many years ago on the Continent, who is a thorough-going Ministerialist. By his situation, by the places he has held, & by his connexions he is in fact one of them, although he has no department. I saw a few of the opposition, who, however, were not the leaders. These were all Englishmen, & I had a good deal of conversation with them, & in a way in which there could be no disguise or disposition to deceive. They were men of information as to their own country; they had all been on the continent & in France particularly, & yet I can assure you that however well they may have been acquainted with France "as it was," they were totally mistaken in their ideas of France "as it is." And I observed that they had not only different, but opposite ideas, just as they would have had on a question in the House of Commons. They had each mixed up all they had formerly known with all they were daily learning, & made a dish according to the taste of their palates, but really not at all according to the nature of the thing.

I saw also three foreigners who have so long resided in London that they are much better informed of the true state & real interests of England in its foreign relations than any Englishman I saw, for it seems as if that kind of knowledge was more difficult to be attained by an Englishman than any other. Dumouriez & Count d'Antraigues (the last you will recollect as having been of the Constituent Assembly, having written a pamphlet in which he went far ahead of his peers in favor of the Revolution & then taking the stud & emigrating either with or before

Mounier) have, with the active industry & intelligence of Frenchmen, acquired a most intimate knowlege of the state of things & parties as regards England in its interior. Being foreigners, & employed & paid (at least Dumouriez) by the government, they see with the same freedom each succeeding ministry. They have become acquainted with them as they have come into power, & shewed respect for them & retained an intinacy with the influential when they have lost their power, not knowing how soon they may come up again. Being thus free of the fogs of party spirit, it appeared to me that they had a clearer & more distinct view of the present, as well as what would probably be the future, in England than any one I saw there.

Dumouriez is consulted on all military operations in Europe ; he forms plans for them, of which they never take more than a part, just enough to incur all the expense, & never enough to give a chance of success, — or if they adopt the whole of his plan, they then begin it some months later than agreed on, so as to insure its failure in that way. It is clear from the opinion of both Dumouriez & d'Antraigues that the present is the weakest ministry they have yet been able to collect.* The Marquis of Wellesley, they say, is a man of enterprize & extensive views, proper for a first Minister, but totally incapable of the details of a department. He came in under the full expectation of being premier, of which he had the assurance, but was outwitted completely by Perceval, who was, when at the bar, an *avocat sans cause*, & who always will be a *ministre sans talens*. The details of this manœuvre are really curious, as I had it from d'An . . . , & the mainspring of the intrigue & what secured Perceval's success, was his representing to the King that he was really

* In the ministry which came into office on the death of the Duke of Portland, in 1809, and which was in office at the date of this letter, Spencer Perceval was First Lord of the Treasury and Prime Minister, and the Marquis Wellesley was Foreign Secretary. — Eds.

without talents or influence himself, &, of course, could be nothing but by the King, whereas those who had talents & influence would always endeavour to make themselves independent of the King & control him.

The opinion of many was that it would be a piece of good fortune for England if the Ministry were baffled at once & the armies driven out of the Peninsula, so as to have necessity for the excuse of abandoning their mode of carrying on the war there. It would be too long to go into detail on this subject at the end of so long a letter. So far as we may judge from what took place in Galicia, during the campaign of Sir John Moore & after the expulsion of his army, the resistance would not be diminished by such an event. This is the opinion of the famous Savary, Duke de Rovigo, now Minister of Police, the same who brought off the Prince of Asturias. Whilst I was at Paris he told a lady of my acquaintance, who repeated it to me the same day: "As to conquering Spain, if by dispersing its armies a conquest is meant, that is already done, but if a quiet possession is meant, that cannot be effected but by a permanent garrison of 600,000 men, & considering the Peninsula as a *place forte*."

Instead of disasters in the Peninsula & the expulsion of the British from thence, making them more tractable as to our affairs, might it not on the contrary remove one of the principal inducements which they have to peace with us in the present state of things, the necessity of their armies deriving supplies from hence? The effect of a bankruptcy on their internal state & foreign relations, or the probability of such an event, would require the going into a longer investigation of the interior of England than you would perhaps think worthy of the time. It was evident to me whilst in England, although no Englishman that I saw would then admit it, that they were verging towards a paper money. Huskisson, however, has since shewn that in its true light. Have you seen his pamph-

let? * In time, paper *money* (which, however, is different from paper *currency*), if continued, inevitably produces one kind of bankruptcy. But whilst this money can hold out it adds strength instead of taking it away. And after it can hold out no longer we have seen one instance at least, that of France, of a country *immediately* arising like a phenix from its ashes. I do not pretend to decide that this would be the same with every other, but it is worthy of being taken into consideration.

Indeed, there are so many things to be taken into consideration in examining, & more especially in deciding, on this vast subject, the war with England, & which must, of course, have occupied the mind of the administration for some time back, that I have been imprudent perhaps in thus touching on it, as I can only do it in a contracted way. I think with you that it is very uncertain whether the nation itself will not soon force the Prince, or King, & Ministry into a war with us. Perceval would not, perhaps, be sorry to be thus forced, but most others would be sorry for it. The present course of the two governments, however, it seems to me, tends towards war, & although I do not believe that either government does or can wish for it, yet in their present attitudes, some event, or some succession of events may take place which will render it still more probable, if not inevitable. I should like much to have been at Monticello last summer with M. & M., & have heard them discuss some points, which must, I should imagine, have been discussed; such as whether this be the most favorable time for engaging in a war in favor of neutral rights, seeing that all the world is belligerent except ourselves, & that each belligerent is equally hostile to these rights,† what would be the probable effect on

* The reference is to "The Question concerning the Depreciation of our Currency Stated and Examined. By W. Huskisson, Esq., M.P." It at once established his reputation as a writer on finance, and passed through five editions in one year. — EDS.

† I have travelled a great deal this summer & seen many of all parties, & this point I have heard particularly canvassed & ideas thrown out as to the certainty of its changing the administration after the first election. Whether that wd really be the case, I do not pretend to say.

ourselves, of a war undertaken at this time, whether there be no means of evading for the present (if the moment be unfavorable for war) & of postponing war, without renouncing any principle & with a determination of preparing for the assertion & maintenance of every principle on the first favorable occasion which may present a good chance of success. If there be no such means, then, of course, war at present is necessary & inevitable, & removes the trouble of every other consideration, except as to carrying it on with greatest effect.

A person situated as I am, & who, of course, can have only a part of the subject under his view, is so exposed to form half-starved incorrect opinions that he should not, perhaps, trouble other people with them: but where we feel very much interested it is almost impossible not to form an opinion, & difficult not to communicate it when speaking confidentially. I take it for granted that since the length of time that our commercial difficulties have begun with the belligerent powers, Government must, in its various views of that subject, have examined the alternative of leaving commerce to its own protection, when carried beyond our own limits, or inviting the citizens of the U. S. to remain at home & employ their capitals here; but, at the same time, leaving them free to manage their affairs in their own way, & at their own risk & peril, if they will persist in placing themselves between Scylla & Charybdis. I suppose, as this plan has never (I believe), been brought forward, that there must be some objection to it arising out of circumstances unknown to me.

I had a good deal of conversation on this subject with Daniel Parker, as to its commercial effects. No person that I know carries more analysis into commercial questions than he does. He has established his reputation as a clear & combining head on these matters, as well at London as at Amsterdam, & his long residence abroad has not diminished his attachment to his own country.

Indeed, I believe that residence abroad, free from the asperities one sees at home, & the injustice & abuse to which one is exposed, increases & exalts one's attachment instead of diminishing it. Parker has more than once developed the commercial bearings that this measure would have, in so satisfactory a manner that I requested he would give me a memoir with those developements, that I might send it to you. He promised this with pleasure, & would have executed it with zeal, but before he had done intelligence was recieved from America which shewed it was then unnecessary.

As far as we can judge from what has transpired from Washington, there appears no symptom of the Executive contemplating such a measure. How would they like its coming from the legislature? I have no reason to suppose that such a plan exists there, but a gentleman here told me that a Republican member of the House, who came down the North River with him, said outright on board of the steam boat, that should be his plan.

The Hornet is here under sailing orders for Europe. The report is that a new Minister to London is to go out in that vessel, & that Dr Eustis is the person intended. This may perhaps merely proceed from the affair of the Chesapeake being arranged. Perhaps also this arrangement may act as an entering wedge — & to use an Irish phrase, draw things closer together — but I am not sufficiently instructed to see how it will do it.

On looking back at this long letter, I am really, *bona fide, sans phrase*, frightened at it, & almost tempted to suppress it altogether, & write another merely as to Ind. Camp, but hoping & taking it for granted you will only read as much of it as you please, I let it go, with the repeated assurance of all my gratitude for your kindness as to Ind. Camp, & of my being ever your friend & servant.

W. SHORT.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO CHARLES PINCKNEY.*

MONTICELLO, Feb. 2, 12.

DEAR SIR, — Your favor of Dec. 18 is duly recieved, and I am happy to learn from it that you are well and still active in the cause of our country. S. Carolina remains firm too to sound principles. Of her orthodoxy I shall never doubt. You have the peculiar advantage of gathering all your aristocracy into Charleston, where alone it can be embodied, and where alone it can be felt. We are to have war, then? I believe so, and that it is necessary. Every hope from time, patience, & the love of peace is exhausted, and war or abject submission are the only alternatives left us. I am forced from my hobby, peace, until our revenue is liberated. Then we could make war without either new taxes or loans, and in peace apply the same resources to internal improvement. But they will not give us time to get into this happy state. They will force us, as they have forced France, to become a nation of souldiers, & then the more woe to them. But all this is for future history. Mine is drawing to it's close. Age begins to press sensibly on me, and I leave politics to those of more vigour of body and mind. I give up newspapers for Horace & Tacitus, and withdraw my mind from contention of every kind, perfectly secure that our rulers & fellow-citizens are taking all possible care of us. They will still have many years of aid from you, and that they may be years of health, honor, & happiness is my sincere prayer.

TH: JEFFERSON.

CHARLES PINCKNEY, Esq.

* Charles Pinckney was born in Charleston, S. C., in 1758, and died there, Oct. 29, 1824. He was a member of the Convention which framed the Federal Constitution, was four times Governor of his native State, several times a member of Congress, and minister to Spain from 1801 to 1805. He strongly advocated the War of 1812 with England, and warmly opposed the Missouri Compromise. See Appleton's *Cyclopædia of American Biography*, vol. v. p. 23; Lanman's *Biographical Annals*, pp. 336, 608. — Eds.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO E. I. DU PONT.*

MONTICELLO, June 16, 12.

DEAR SIR, — On the 4th of Nov. last I wrote to you requesting another quarter cask of powder to be forwarded to me with a note of the cost that I might remit for that & the preceding one together. Not having heard from you, I repeated my request in a letter of Apr. 30, and at the same time desired Mr. John Barnes of Geo. town to remit you 50 dollars, which he informs me he had done. This was a mere guess at the cost of the two quarter casks, as I did not know it exactly. Being still without information on the subject I have to request the favor of a line by post. I should not be so importunate but that the season for blowing rock in a canal I am engaged in has now commenced. I would wish to have half a dozen pounds of shooting powder, & the rest for blowing as before.

In the same letter of Apr. 30, I mentioned that I should shear a few fleeces of genuine Merino wool & of the finest character, with about 15 of half blood; that I had understood you were connected with a manufactory of cloth at which they would recieve wool to be spun, woven, & dyed for an equivalent either in the wool or cash, and I asked your information particularly on that subject, for which I will still thank you. A late letter from your father informs me of his health; but you doubtless heard from him at the same date. Accept the assurance of my great esteem & respect.

TH: JEFFERSON.

M. E. I. DUPONT DE NEMOURS.

* Eleuthère Irénée Du Pont, son of Pierre Samuel Du Pont de Nemours, was born in Paris, France, June 24, 1771, and died in Philadelphia, Oct. 31, 1834. After having suffered imprisonment three times during the French Revolution, he came over to the United States with his father's family in 1799; and in 1802 bought a tract of land, with water-power on the Brandywine River, near Wilmington, Delaware. Here he established the powder-works which are still carried on by his descendants. His nephew, Admiral Samuel F. Du Pont, rendered important services during the rebellion. See Appleton's Cyclopædia of American Biography, vol. ii. pp. 264-266. — EDS.

THOMAS COOPER* TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

CARLISLE, July 25, 1812.

DEAR SIR, — I return you many thanks for your package, particularly for your statement of the Batture case, which has settled my opinion.† I understood the question but imperfectly without the assistance of your account of it. Du Ponceau sent me his argument and Livingston's virulent pamphlet, which, however, he by no means approved. I have written to him that you have converted me. I am the more interested also, because I have not yet abandoned the notion of practising law at New Orleans; for although I am very much attached to Chemistry, I consider myself as married to Law, which I know by experience I could make, if not so pleasant, more lucrative.

When my edition of Justinian's Institutes is out, which will be in about three months, I will beg your acceptance of a copy. I have already printed the text and translation, amounting to 400 pages, and 150 pages of notes. Having had the misfortune of losing by fire great part of my collections for notes, I am obliged to use the intervals of my leisure here, to compose as fast as I can for the printer, who keeps even daily pace with me. But hurried

* Thomas Cooper was born in London, England, October 22, 1759, and was educated at Oxford. He afterward studied law, medicine, and the natural sciences. In 1795 he followed his friend Joseph Priestley, to the United States, and settled at Northumberland, Pa., where he practised law for some time. From 1811 to 1814 he was Professor of Chemistry in Dickinson College; and from 1816 to 1821, he held a similar chair in the University of Pennsylvania. In 1820 he was made President of the College of South Carolina, which office he held until 1834, being at the same time Professor of Chemistry and Political Economy. He died in Charleston, S. C., May 11, 1840. See Appleton's *Cyclopædia of American Biography*, vol. i. pp. 732, 733; *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. xii. pp. 151, 152; Duyckinck's *Cyclopædia of American Literature*, vol. ii. pp. 331-333. — Eds.

† The reference is to a pamphlet of eighty pages, published in 1812, under the title of "The Proceedings of the Government of the United States, in maintaining the Public Right to the Beach of the Mississippi, adjacent to New Orleans, against the Intrusion of Edward Livingston. Prepared for the Use of Counsel, by Thomas Jefferson." A copy of the original edition, with pen-and-ink corrections in the handwriting of Mr. Jefferson, is in the library of this Society.

For some remarks on this celebrated case, see Randall's *Life of Thomas Jefferson*, vol. iii. pp. 266-269. — Eds.

as I am (lecturing also thrice a week), I shall not scruple to risk the publication. I expect the additional notes, preface, and index will occupy about 150 pages more, making a volume of 700 pages. I have preferred correcting the diffuse and awkward translation of Harris to composing entirely a new one, and I have aimed at the difficult task of keeping the translation within bounds of space not much exceeding the original.*

I have turned over the pages of the *Ideologie* with expectations of profit, but it does not as yet appear to me greatly superior to Condillac. The work of Cabanis I know only by title, and should be greatly gratified by procuring it; for the title itself implies that he knows (almost exclusively) the true method of treating his subject. I have long been of opinion that all consideration of metaphysics and of morals, not founded on considering us as mere organized animals, and deduced from the peculiar character of our animal organization, amounts to waste of time in the writer and the reader, at least so far as the elements of these branches of knowledge are concerned. If I could procure Cabanis, and he proves to be what I expect him to be, I should have no objection to translate the work; though I fancy it would produce more obloquy than either pleasure or profit.

I have not yet read the *Commentaries* on Montesquieu, whose paradoxical and epigrammatic work has in my opinion received its full share of praise. I meditated two years ago a *History of the Roman Law*, and also two volumes of original papers and collections relating to manufacturing processes and the arts. M^r Madison was so good at my request to send to M^r Russel for some French chemical books that I wanted for the latter purpose, but they have been at L'Orient for more than a twelve month past. I sent to M^r Barlow to procure me

* Cooper's "English Version of the Institutes of Justinian" was published in Philadelphia in 1812, and has been twice reprinted. — Eds.

Terasson's Hist. of Roman Jurisprudence, the late translation of the Civil Code which is now compleat in France, and some other books on the same subject, and on Mineralogy, & with liberty to go to any extent he thought fit on those branches of knowledge, but I despair of procuring any books now from France. My friend, Mr Priestley is, I believe, now in Paris, but I know not how long he will stay there, or how to direct to him. In short, I shall renounce the trade of authorship, and by and by settle down to the vending of law, but not in this State.

Adieu. Believe me, with sincere respect and esteem,
dear Sir,

Your obliged friend,

THOMAS COOPER.

I see lately published a work on a curious subject, that promises information. An essay on the Probability of Sensation in Vegetables, by J. P. Tupper, surgeon, London, 142 pages. He has been superficially preceded by Dr Watson (Landaff), Dr Bell of Manchester, and Dr Smith. I think more than mere sensation, that volition might be made probable.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO RICHARD RUSH.*

Th: Jefferson presents his compliments to Mr. Rush, & his thanks for the copy of his oration of the 4th of July, which he has been so kind as to send him, and for the friendly wishes he expresses for his health and happiness.

* Richard Rush was born in Philadelphia, August 29, 1780; graduated at Princeton in 1797, and was admitted to the bar in 1800. In November, 1811, he was made Comptroller of the United States Treasury; and from 1814 to 1817 he was United States Attorney-General. In the latter year he was sent as minister to England, where he remained until 1825, when he was appointed Secretary of the Treasury in the administration of President John Quincy Adams. In March, 1847, he was commissioned as minister to France, and took leave in October, 1849. He died in Philadelphia, July 30, 1859. The oration here referred to was delivered in Washington, July 4, 1812. He was the author of numerous other publications, of which several have a permanent value. See Appleton's Cyclopædia of American Biography, vol. v. p. 350; Lanman's Biographical Annals, pp. 367, 596. — Eds.

To the last nothing contributes more than the contemplation of such specimens as Mr. Rush has sent him of the eloquence of his country devoted to the celebration of the birthday of our independance. Every day's history proves more & more the wisdom and salutary result of that measure, by developements of the degeneracy of the British nation, & of it's rapid decline towards some awful catastrophe, from which their injustice & the favor of Heaven have separated us.

He salutes Mr. Rush with sentiments of high respect & esteem.

MONTICELLO, Aug. 2, 12.

ISAAC A. COLES* TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Thomas Jefferson, Monticello, near Milton, Virginia.

CAMP NEAR BUFFALOE, Oct. 24, 1812.

D^r SIR,—I reached this on the 10th, after a long & fatiguing march, & have ever since been engaged in the most active and arduous duty. On the morning after my arrival in camp I was sent to relieve Col. Winder † in the command at Black Rock, where we were forced constantly to remain on our arms, & were exposed for some time to the fire of the enemy's batteries.

After the unfortunate attempt at invasion & the disaster of Queenston, we were marched down to Lewis Town, & then back to this place over almost impassable roads. The soldiers in consequence of this exposure have suffered greatly, and of 571, to-day we have only 363 for duty. Marching during the severe cold of night, up to the knees in mud & water, & sleeping constantly on the wet earth without straw, & with only a single blanket

* A brother of Gov. Edward Coles, and a personal friend of Jefferson. At this time he was a lieutenant-colonel in the Virginia militia, and was serving on the Niagara frontier. — Eds.

† Col. William H. Winder, of Maryland. — Eds.

has proven more destructive than a battle ; the suffering of my men during the night of the 13th I can never forget while I live. Heretofore there has been a scarcity of *every thing* — even of food, of forage, & of the munitions of war. *Nothing* seemed to have been provided ; but now we have a promise of better times. God send it may not prove fallacious.

A few days ago we were ordered to hut ourselves, & expected to go into winter quarters in the midst of the woods, & with little prospect of obtaining the necessaries, much less the comforts, of civilized life. The prospect was truly a gloomy one, but now we are afraid that we shall “winter in Canada or in heaven,” & we have thrown by our axes & saws for our muskets & bayonets.

We are told that large reinforcements are coming on, but as they are generally composed of militia companies, little reliance ought to be placed on them. In truth, the regulars here, amounting to little upwards of 1000 men fit for duty, are without discipline, & could by no means meet an equal number of British troops. You can form no conception of the irregularity and disorder that exist in every branch of the service ; every one prates & no one acts, even the Gen^l himself * — or rather Gen^l Porter † (for of him I may speak). He is making a fortune out of the gov^t by starving the army, & yet there is no redress ; often, after starving 24 hours, our men have to take meat & sour flour & whiskey for their ration ; the small parts are never to be had ; & when the provision is condemned, it is still forced on you, as there is no one else of whom to buy ; the quarter masters are all of them without money, no forage master has been appointed, and our teams & riding horses are actually starving. On my first arrival I could neither obtain ammunition (at least

* Major-General Stephen Van Rensselaer, of New York, was in command of the army at the battle of Queenstown ; but he shortly afterward turned over the command to Brigadier-General Alexander Smyth. — Eds.

† Brigadier-General Peter B. Porter, of New York. — Eds.

only 12 rounds) nor flints. The enemy fired at us a whole day at Black Rock, & we could not return the fire, as a six pounder, the only piece I saw mounted, was without ammunition. The medical department was in equal disorder, & our sick & wounded have suffered more than you can conceive. Many were not dressed until three or four days after the battle, & then by *youths* without experience, who, it is said, have treated them very improperly.

Indeed, until the army shall have been organized in all its parts & disciplined, I fear you will hear of little else than a series of disasters; the late attempt at invasion is said to have been brought about by the Clinton party, & was intended to influence the Presidential election. It has no doubt produced a powerful effect, & something ought to be attempted [to] counteract its influence. The army here [*torn*] to make another attempt. I doubt not that we shall make good our landing, & carry with little loss all the batteries on the opposite shore as well as Fort Erie; but whether we shall be able to take Fort George, or maintain ourselves on the Canada side, is, I think, extremely questionable. There will certainly too, even if our force was much greater than it is, be considerable risk in crossing over into an enemy country with only two or three days' provision on hand, & without the com^d. of the water. I have written you this on my knee in the open air. Present me in the kindest manner to M^{rs} Randolph & the family, & believe me, with the warmest & most respectful attach^m,

Y^{rs},

I. A. COLES.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO E. I. DU PONT.

MONTICELLO, Nov. 8, 12.

DEAR SIR, — It is high time I should make my acknowledgements to you for the piece of cloth of your manufacture which you were so kind as to forward to me. But this article as well as the keg of powder forwarded with it have experienced singular delay. Tho' sent from Wilmington early in July, they were near 2 months, I believe, reaching Richmond; from which place they were forwarded to me on the 18th of Sep., & have not yet reached me, owing to the low state of our river usual in autumn. The first good rain will, I expect, enable the boat to come up, but as I am setting out on a journey on which I shall be absent some weeks, I cannot permit myself to await their actual arrival & my return before I tender you my thanks for the cloth you have been so good as to favor me with. I am happy to know that we have established among us a manufacture from which we may expect to see the French processes, in both weaving & dying fine cloths, introduced among us. It is one of the articles in which they certainly excel the English. I am in hopes the Merino race of sheep is so well established among us as to leave you in no danger of wanting that article. I have been unlucky with them. I began with one ram & 3 ewes. One of the ewes died of the scab, and the others for two years have brought me only ram lambs, so that I remain still with only 2 ewes. But I have many half bloods. There is no demand here for the wool, because we have no manufacture of fine cloth in the State. In that of coarse cloathing we are going on very prosperously in our families. Scarcely a family fails to clothe itself. I salute you with great esteem & respect.

TH: JEFFERSON.

Mr. E. I. DUPONT.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO CHARLES W. PEALE.*

MONTICELLO, Apr. 17, 13.

DEAR SIR, — I had long owed you a letter for your favor of Aug. 19, when I recieved eight days ago that of Mar. 2, 1812. A slip of the pen, I suppose for 1813, and the pamphlet accompanying it strengthens the supposition. I thank you for the pamphlet.† It is full of good sense & wholesome advice, and I am making all my grandchildren read it, married & unmarried; and the story of farmer Jenkins will, I hope, remain in their minds through life. Both your letters are on the subject of your agricultural operations, and both prove the ardor with which you are pursuing them. But when I observe that you take an active part in the bodily labor of the farm, your zeal and age give me uneasiness for the result.

Your position that a small farm well worked and well manned, will produce more than a larger one ill-tended, is undoubtedly true in a certain degree. There are extremes in this as in all other cases. The true medium may really be considered and stated as a mathematical problem: "Given the quantum of labor within our command, and land ad libitum offering it's spontaneous contributions: required the proportion in which these two elements should be employed to produce a maximum." It is a difficult problem, varying probably in every country according to the relative value of land and labor. The

* Charles Wilson Peale was born in Chestertown, Maryland, April 16, 1741, and died in Philadelphia, Pa., Feb. 22, 1827. He followed at first the trade of a saddler, but while still a young man determined to be a portrait painter. In this profession he obtained a very considerable degree of success, and painted numerous portraits of Washington and the men of the Revolutionary period. He was also the founder and proprietor of the once famous Peale's Museum of Art and Natural History of Philadelphia. He was a man of great ingenuity and even greater versatility, and "took up, in turn, the making of coaches, harnesses, clocks, and watches, besides working as a silversmith, and he was also soldier, politician, naturalist, taxidermist, and dentist." Numerous letters to or from him are among the Jefferson Papers in the possession of this Society. See Appleton's *Cyclopædia of American Biography*, vol. iv. pp. 689, 690. — Eds.

† "An Essay to promote Domestic Happiness," published in 1813. — Eds.

spontaneous energies of the earth are a gift of nature, but they require the labor of man to direct their operation. And the question is so to husband his labor as to turn the greatest quantity of this useful action of the earth to his benefit. Ploughing deep, your recipe for killing weeds, is also the recipe for almost every thing good in farming. The plough is to the farmer what the wand is to the sorcerer. It's effect is really like sorcery. In the country wherein I live we have discovered a new use for it, equal in value almost to it's services before known. Our country is hilly and we have been in the habit of ploughing in strait rows whether up and down hill, in oblique lines, or however they lead; and our soil was all rapidly running into the rivers. We now plough horizontally following the curvatures of the hills and hollows, on the dead level, however crooked the lines may be. Every furrow thus acts as a reservoir to recieve and retain the waters, all of which go to the benefit of the growing plant, instead of running off into the streams. In a farm horizontally and deeply ploughed, scarcely an ounce of soil is now carried off from it. In point of beauty nothing can exceed that of the waving lines & rows winding along the face of the hills & vallies. The horses draw much easier on the dead level, and it is in fact a conversion of hilly grounds into a plain. The improvement of our soil from this cause the last half dozen years, strikes every one with wonder. For this improvement we are indebted to my son-in-law, Mr. Randolph, the best farmer, I believe, in the United States, and who has taught us to make more than two blades of corn to grow where only one grew before. If your farm is hilly, let me beseech you to make a trial of this method. To direct the plough horizontally we take a rafter level of this form . A boy of 13 or 14 is able to work it round the hill, a still smaller one with a little hough marking the points traced by the feet of the level. The plough follows running thro' these marks. The leveller

having compleated one level line thro' the field, moves with his level 30 or 40 yards up or down the hill, and runs another which is marked in like manner & traced by the plough, and having thus run what may be called guide furrows every 30 or 40 yards thro the field, the ploughman runs the furrows of the intervals parallel to these. In proportion, however, as the declivity of the hill varies in different parts of the line, the guide furrows will approach or recede from each other in different parts, and the parallel furrows will at length touch in one part, when far asunder in others, leaving unploughed gores between them. These gores we plough separately. They occasion short rows & turnings which are a little inconvenient, but not materially so. I pray you to try this recipe for hilly grounds. You will say with me, "Probatum est," and I shall have the happiness of being of some use to you, and thro' your example to your neighbors, and of adding something solid to the assurances of my great esteem & respect.

TH : JEFFERSON.

CHARLES W. PEALE, Esq.

WILLIAM SHORT TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Thomas Jefferson, Monticello.

PHILAD : July 8, 13.

DEAR SIR,— I hastily noted to you the receipt of your favor of the 18th ult^o, inclosing the mortgage of Higginbotham. I sent at the same time the first volume of the Bareith memoirs.* I now send the second volume, & with it my sincere thanks for the perusal of the *bauardage* of this Princess, which has amused me much. I explained to you formerly how she came to be dressed up here in a new covering.

* The well-known Memoirs of the Margravine of Baireuth, of which an edition was published in Paris in 1813. — Eds.

Correa * had fixed the day of his departure, but he allowed it to pass by on account of the excessive heat of that day. He is not the less firmly resolved to visit Monticello, & he is every day expecting to set out. He means now to go viâ Washington, but not to stop there. He has consulted, as he tells me, with M^r Coles, the Pres^{ts} secretary, who is here. As he goes by the stage, he will be obliged to take the route of Fredericksburgh. The harvest, I suppose, will last during the month of July. You may count with absolute certainty on Correa. He tells me no consideration could induce him to leave America without seeing you.

I am not surprized that you seldom allow your mind to wander, as you say, into the political field; a well cultivated wheat field is a much more pleasing object. As to myself, living as I do, in the midst of those who feel & suffer too much from passing events to be able to abstract themselves from them, I am obliged to hear a great deal of political conversation. No one engages in it so little as I do, but yet I am unavoidably forced sometimes to speak instead of listening, or turning a deaf ear. I prefer, however, every other subject. On Politics as a mere speculative subject, the interlocutors so seldom understand each other that I am always surprized they are not disgusted themselves, to be thus wasting words. As well might they take up the old scholastic disputes, & *ergoter* on them; but on the war, which is a practical & intelligible question, it is different. This is one which every man can understand, when passion is kept down, & on this, my opinion is fixed & settled, & I have no hesitation in giving it. The events hitherto have confirmed me but too much in it, & I fear that succeeding events will go

* José François Correa da Serra, a Portuguese botanist and diplomatist, was born in 1750, and died in 1823. In 1813 he came to America, and lectured on botany for a short time. From 1816 to 1820 he was minister plenipotentiary from Portugal to the United States. See Nouvelle Biographie Générale, tome xi. pp. 923-926; Lanman's Biographical Annals, p. 620. — EDS.

on increasing & exaggerating my conviction. That we have had a *right* to go to war with both England & France from the first year of their hostilities is what cannot be questioned by any man, I should suppose, of common sense & common candor; but surely statesmen, whom we put over us to take care of our interests & our happiness are bound to have intelligence enough to be able to judge of the *expediency* as well as the *right*. Now if any of our rulers who have declared this war did really think it expedient, at the time & in the manner, we have a right to say they had more need of guardians themselves than capacity to act as such (for this war will go immediately contrary to their own views & shew their real folly); and if they did not think it expedient for their country, & still declared it, then they must be left to their own consciences, which the succeeding & increasing execration of their countrymen will, I do not doubt, furnish with whips & stings. And this execration will not be confined to their party enemies; in time it will be equally strong, if not more so, with their present friends & flatterers — those who are now toasting them & comparing them with heroes, sages, &c., & who will probably be so much ashamed of this vain & bombastical idolatry, that they will think it necessary to overwhelm the idols with reproach & infamy, to shew how perfectly they are detached from them.

I am always mortified when I see the public persisting in their idea, that you still direct the President; my conviction has ever been that you abstained altogether from interfering, & I have never failed to give this as my full conviction, founded on my knowledge of you, & pretending to no positive information. But they have been so long accustomed to consider Mr Madison as a mere appendage to you, that nothing which another could say has any weight in changing that opinion. This is of that class of popular prejudices which the people in their sovereignty

will never give up, and I think it one of the many misfortunes of public life in this country that this sovereign people not only act the tyrant in fixing on their servants opinions which are often the contrary of those they avow, but also make them responsible often for the follies of others, follies which perhaps they actually abhor.

On the subject of the conquest of Canada: to judge from what I saw from Black Rock to Newark, the space of 33 miles, I should have said that the whole population would have joined our arms. They were all, with very few exceptions, settlers from America, & generally worthless men who had no principle, & left our side on account of some vice. Hull has probably destroyed the confidence of such people, but still there can be no doubt that the U. S. could conquer the whole of Canada (except Quebec) even if the whole of the population were hostile to them. As to Quebec, I can have no opinion of my own, in opposition to that of the first military genius that has been ever on our territory. On speaking with him on this subject, he said most positively, that if the place was properly fortified & properly defended, there would be a physical impossibility in taking it from a power that commanded the sea. For, said he, when the river is frozen the earth is too hard for the siege; & when the river is open, supplies can be brought.

On the duration of the war, there must, as you say, be uncertainty. Nothing within my knowledge gives me any hope of its present termination. Unfortunately the English, though they have many strong reasons for wishing its end, have many also for desiring its continuance under present circumstances, & also strong passions enlisted against us. There is no doubt that the war bears much harder on our government than it does on theirs, & if they can believe that the thermometer of our suffering is 100, & theirs only 50, they will be disposed to suffer a little longer, I fear, for the pleasure of seeing the torture of our

administration, & with the hope of seeing the next Congress prepared for different measures. They have a Parliament for near seven years, & who seem "up to the hub" men; our Parliament changes every two years, & if the people become wearied & disgusted with the war, they will certainly send men averse to it also.

The ways & means in the mean time will probably act as a stimulus in this way; and if such men go to the next Congress as probably will go (the war, disgrace, taxes, &c., &c, continuing), there is great probability that Mr Madison will be impeached for his agency in it, & if impeached, under such a stimulus & such a charge, we can very well judge how, & with what calmness & impartiality he would be tried. Let us hope that such a series of events will not be exhibited, & pray that peace may come & relieve us all.

I have been for some days indisposed with a bilious attack shewing signs of inflammation & dysentery. The doctor, aided by the apothecary & the bleeder, has restored me, & I purpose leaving this city for the Northward in a few days. Whenever you will do me the favor to let me hear from you, be pleased to direct to Philad. Mr Taylor takes up my letters in my absence & forwards them. In all places & under all circumstances, believe me most affectionately yours,

W. SHORT.

THOMAS COOPER TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

CARLISLE, NOV. 8, 1813.

DEAR SIR, — I sent you about a twelve month ago, a copy of my edition of Justinian's Institutes, and another copy of my introductory lecture. I presume you received them, as I sent them, if I do not mistake, under Mr Madison's care.

I write at present to say that I have at my disposal Dr. Priestley's library and apparatus. The library consists of

about 4400 volumes of all descriptions, some of them very valuable. There are of course many theological works, but they are in a great measure such as a man of learning would like to possess for consultation. I value his library at 5000 dls, & his philosophical apparatus at 1000. Do you know any seminary likely to become purchaser? If I could afford it they should not go out of *my* possession, but I cannot. I have offered them to William & Mary College at Williamsburgh in your State, from whence I have received an invitation as Chemical professor. I am strongly inclined to accept the invitation, if I thought the place was healthy, and I could have a good apparatus there, for I am looked at with great suspicion and distrust by a body of parsons who form a large part of the trustees of this college. I have done and said nothing since my two years' residence here to irritate in the slightest degree this *genus irritabile*. I have even gone to church with tolerable regularity, but I think they hate me with more cordiality because I have furnished them with no ground of complaint.

This makes me uncomfortable here, although with my professorship and my authorship I make out to live tolerably well.

I have now published 3 numbers of the *Emporium*, each number containing about 160 or 170 pages, and coming out every two months. In my next I shall insert a paper on Political Economy, by Dr. Erick Bollman,* written with talent, but, as I think, with very high-toned Federal feelings. Pray, is it a secret who wrote the *Commentary on Montesquieu*? He ascribes it to you, but I have always understood it to be the work of a Frenchman, and written in French. I do not agree with it in toto, but it is a valuable work.

* Eric Bollman was born in Hoya, Hanover, in 1769, and died in the West Indies in 1821. He was concerned with Francis K. Huger in the attempt to effect the rescue of Lafayette from Olmutz. Subsequently he came to this country, and remained here for several years. See Appleton's *Cyclopædia of American Biography*, vol. i. p. 308. — Eds.

Have you attended to the opinion of the judges in answer to Governor Strong's questions in the appendix to 8th. Massach. Rep? * It seems to me a blow at the Union. I have been attacking it in a new paper published by I. Conrad, in Ph^a, The American Register, but the Federalists chuckle at it. Adieu. Believe me, with sincere esteem, dear Sir,

Your friend,

THOMAS COOPER.

WILLIAM SHORT TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

PHILAD^a., Jan. 18, 14.

DEAR SIR, — Your kind letter of the 9th of Nov. was received here at the time. You mentioned that you were setting off for Bedford & would be absent a month. I postponed therefore acknowledging its receipt so long that I determined to wait until I should again hear from you as to Carter's affair after you had heard from him, so as to trouble you less often. But as I know my good countrymen of the Carter stamp, I suppose it would be useless now to wait longer; & I therefore take up my pen to return you my very sincere thanks for your letter & particularly for the determination which you are so good as there to express, of not suffering this Carter business "to rest until it is finally & justly settled." I am afraid it will give you a great deal of trouble, & out of all proportion to the value of the object; but unsettled matters of this kind are so disagreeable to have on hand that I really have not the force to ask you to decline it, knowing as I do that without your kind & friendly agency it would lye over until all the tombs of the Carters were filled; and I do not see how, even with your aid, Carter can be brought to the spot. Should he decline coming, would there be no

* The questions related to the calling out and governing of the militia in time of war. See Lodge's Memoir of Caleb Strong, in Proceedings, vol. i. pp. 306-310. — Eds.

means of proceeding without him? And if it should be found that Monroe is well advised & entitled to the land, what would be my remedy against Carter? I should suppose a suit for damages, or perhaps he would give his obligation to refund. As to Mr H., he has his remedy in his own hands, but I hope he will not avail himself of it to decline paying his bond in April. Monroe would have saved us all a great deal of trouble if he would have urged his claim as he ought to have done, without leaving me to pay taxes on this land & finally sell it, if it really belongs to him, which I hope will not be the case, when I consider that my survey must have been made so soon after his, & probably by the same surveyor. At any rate I am anxious for its final ascertainment. And I shall consider the termination as a desperate case, if it be necessary to have both Monroe & Carter present, but I hope there would be some means of proceeding without them, & that they might be brought to consent to the running of the line in the manner you mention by a surveyor.

Mr Higginbotham has as yet said nothing of the rent which he assumed & which was due the 1st of this month. He will subject me both to disappointment & loss if he should not keep his engagement for April, because I intend to subscribe to the Government loan that is coming out. As the payment is made by installments in these loans, it adds much to the convenience, because a person can subscribe for a larger sum than he has on hand, & count on future receipts towards paying up future installments.

I regret as much as any person can the lamentable change of system which has taken place as to our finances since you left the helm of government; but as I cannot prevent the present holders of the purse strings from spending so wantonly, & of course borrowing so ruinously, & as I am also to pay my proportion of the taxes consequent on these spendthrift extravagancies,

it is my intention to save myself as much as I can by becoming a participator in the benefits of the lenders, as I must be in the burthens of the payers. Few people have an idea of the advantage of placing money in this way, & still fewer would believe that the power given to Mr Gallatin for raising this money, & the means he had of abusing that power to his own emolument (I am far from saying or believing that he did abuse it), was such as no British ministry ever had or could dream of having. And yet we all believe that we the people of these U. S. are the most cautious of trusting our power, & have our servants the most under our control, of all the others, whom we consider as so many slaves & dupes to their governors. The fact is that not one in an hundred of us sovereigns know in what manner this money was treated for; & yet the press is free & we are all wise & of course capable of judging, but the tone of public opinion is lost & buried in party spirit. Had this negotiation been in open day, & had Mr G. obtained the loan at par, it would have been equally abused & complained of by the Federal editors. And their abusing an operation is of itself sufficient to insure the full approbation of the opposite party; of course let the leaders of one party do what they may (give the public bonds of 100 dollars for every fifty that they touch in cash, instead of for every 88 or $88\frac{1}{4}$ dollars in cash, as they did in the last two loans), they are sure of being abused by one set & this will insure their applause by the other. And where then is the subserviency of these servants of the people, or their responsibility to the people?

Congress, in the first instance, gave the President the power of taking up 16 millions at any rate at which he could get it; he could only make the bonds bear 6 p c^t, but he could sell these bonds in the market for what they would bring. They advertized for a competition of lenders as the British Chancellor of the Exchequer does, but

there the parallel ends, for the whole loan not being subscribed, M^r G. came here & treated *à huis clos* for about 10 millions, in a tête-à-tête with M^r Parish; & this agreement was in its nature final; neither the President or the Congress could have a vote after that. This loan was fixed at 88. It depended on M^r G. & M^r P., of their own will jointly, to fix it at any other rate. Such a latitude, & to such an amount, never has been for the play of *pots de vin* & all the other little expedients so well known to money dealers. I thought at the time how brave & undaunted M^r G. must be when I recollected how much I had trembled when ordered to Amsterdam to borrow one tenth of that sum in the first instance. I felt how much it put it in the power of suspicion & malevolence to abuse me, and at that date there was some bound to these hateful principles. There was one only remedy, & that I was so fortunate as to be able to resort to, so as to put at defiance the possibility of suspicion. The bonus to be allowed the bankers was the only part in which there could be deception, & I resolved, therefore, that it should be so low as to shew to all there could not be abuse. They resisted the reduction, which was so far below what had been allowed, & only undertook to make the loan conditionally for it, saying they should be able to satisfy the President that it was less than it ought to be, & would rely on his justice & generosity to increase it. They appealed to him, stated the expenses at which they were in procuring the loan, & he thought it reasonable to allow the addition they asked. To this I had no objection because I did really believe it was just, but it shewed to demonstration that I had not made such an allowance as could admit of the possibility of abuse. I then had the hope of being rewarded by the mission to Paris, & did suppose that by meriting the President's approbation I should stand before those who had not been at all employed abroad. The event did not, as you know, realize my hopes, & shewed

that other requisites are better, under our form of government, than experience or antecedent approbation of our conduct.

But this is an old story & a great aberration from the subject of the present letter. However, I find that, in proportion as my ambitious propensities die away, those of avarice increase. This is generally the case, I believe, & particularly as years increase. And the present government has so completely assumed the character of those young spendthrifts who have a large real estate, but no money for present exigencies, & send their bonds into market with a mortgage on every thing, that every avaricious money holder is as much excited by present prospects as the Jews are when a young heir apparent comes on the *tapis*. I count on 100 dollars at 6 p^{ct} for every 88 or 90 dollars, perhaps for every 85, that I can command for the next six or eight months, during which the installments will probably be receivable. The appointment of such a man as Clay, who, as a Kentuckian, surely cannot sign a treaty giving up the Canadas, or at least Upper Canada, will make the loan several p. cent lower; the smallest gain that I have heard mentioned by the money lenders for them is 2 p^{ct}; that is, if he had not been appointed they expected to give 90 for the 100, but now not more than 88. So the world goes, & I really begin to feel great disgust with it.

Correa is here & has been for some time. He was enchanted with Monticello & delighted with its owner, & intends repeating his visit in the spring or summer. He is very partial to Virginia; but for the slave part he thinks it the first of the States, & says if ever there be an epic poem in the U. S. it will be born there. I have received from the Abbé Rochon a micrometer of his invention, & also a telescope of Platina. If I should have an opportunity I should be very glad to shew you the micrometer, as I think it would interest you. Let me, if you

please, have the pleasure of hearing from you. Say to C^{ol} Randolph how much I regretted not finding him at home when here. I desired C^{ol} Coles to say the same to him. Believe me ever & truly your friend & servant.

W. SHORT.

WILLIAM SHORT TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

PHILAD^a, March 3, 14.

DEAR SIR,—I had the pleasure of writing to you on the 26th ult^o, & have since received your favor of the 23^d, for which I beg leave here to return my thanks. Conformably with what I then announced, I now send the work of Dupont which you were so good as to lend me.* I despair of seeing any general system of education established during my day. I should, however, be much gratified if I could live to see a fair experiment of what would be the effect on our people of such a system. The good, I think, would be great indeed. It would certainly be the best means of extirpating the very great evil of “Blackstone Lawyers & Sangrado Doctors,” who are increasing in the country as fast as another dreadful evil, the Banks, & for which I see no preventative & no cure but after very great suffering. To the old Bank-phobia has succeeded an incurable Bank-mania. I foresaw this evil from the time of my arrival in this country, & made my arrangements accordingly. I have ceased for many years being a share holder. Those who continue may, by the fluctuation of things, gain a good deal in speculating, but ultimately must lose, I should suppose.

Your opinion as to the probability of peace gives me real pleasure. I have kept it to myself, because I know how it would fly. When asked for my own opinion, as I

* The work referred to was probably the treatise by Du Pont de Nemours, “*Sur l’Éducation Nationale dans les États-Unis d’Amérique*,” published at Paris in 1812. — Eps.

frequently am, I give it without hesitation, stating always that I consider it of little worth, as indeed is the case; but if your opinion were known it would be decisive with many, who insist on thinking that your influence on Mr M. is without a balance. I have no doubt that Mr M. must from the nature of things wish for peace; but it seems to me there must be great obstacles in the way. There is no reason certainly why England should yield any point now that was refused when the war begun, & at the same time I do not see how Mr M. can, after having subjected us to all the horrors of war, — all the demoralization & distress which it has brought on, all the danger to liberty, which he has so often & so well told us laid embosomed in an increasing debt, onerous loans, & consequent taxes, — how he can, I say, let us down precisely where he took us up, in a *statu quo ante*. If the boon of peace arrive, I suppose it must be by some of those *mezzi termini*, which it is the talent of able negotiators to discover. I do not think Mr Clay is a very skilful choice for such a search. The last sentiment of the public will of Kentucky, which he carries with him, is a resolve not to yield the Canadas. Should he be daring enough to go against this in putting his signature to a treaty, it would not surprize me to hear he was tarred & feathered on his return there. As he is no doubt sufficiently aware of this, & as indeed the Kentucky democracy is the only basis on which he stands, & which could have possibly put him into an ambassadorial chair, he will not, I should think, let that slip from under him. However, there are enough to sign without him, & if we, the people, should not have the benefit of his signature, we shall not the less have to pay for his services. For my part, I shall be happy to see peace once more in the land. Experience has sufficiently confirmed what reason foresaw, that the happy form of our government is not calculated for military enterprise & glory. It has always seemed to me

absurd to be endangering our domestic liberty in pursuit of other objects, even if we could attain them. It is the fable revived of the dog losing the substance in catching at the shadow. I cannot help regretting that the experiment was not made of allowing commerce to take care of itself. Dr Priestley has somewhere suggested this in a way that might have been beneficial to our legislators. So far as any objection is derivable from the idea of national honor, the moment was a favorable one. For when such nations as France & England have resolved to abolish all public law, & put force in the place of right & usage, I do not see that there can be any more disgrace in weak governments allowing individuals (their citizens whom they are unable to protect) to shift for themselves on the ocean, & make their own way, than in the governments of France & England descending (from a view to political expediency) to purchase exemption & safety for their subjects, from the Dey of Algiers, for instance. I once gave a hint of this sort to Monroe after he became Sec. of State. But he probably could not listen then with that ear, & I have no doubt he acted much more prudently & properly for himself. We are told now his chance for the Presidency is the best. It certainly would have been no chance at all if he had adopted these ideas. The Western States would never have pardoned his thus abandoning the sailors' rights. And now that a war has been undertaken on the subject, I will not pretend to decide that it could be relinquished with honor for the purpose of trying a different remedy. Still, I regret that it was not tried at its proper time. Every year in this way would have been giving us more bone, & made us more able to act efficiently when we should have found it necessary.

I rejoice with you that the devastating career of Bonaparte has been stopped, & his conquests rescued from him. Had the great & good Moreau lived, relief would have

been extended also to France; & I do not doubt the new dynasty would have become an abortion. As it is, the issue is doubtful. Correa says the affair is now taken into chancery, & will of course be long. He is much pleased by your kind recollection of him, & will be still more so to hear from you, as you promise. It would make me very happy indeed to be able to accompany him & pay you my respects in person. As I remain stationary during the winter, I shall be obliged in the spring to go to N. York, where I have interests that require my presence. I flatter myself every year with the hope of again seeing Monticello, but I find myself so controlled by my New York affairs that I am often disappointed. It shall certainly not be my fault if I do not realize the hope of again seeing you, & renewing the assurances of those sentiments which have grown up with me, which time has fortified, & with which I am, dear Sir, most truly & affectionately,

Your friend & servant,

W. SHORT.

JASON CHAMBERLAIN * TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

BURLINGTON, May 10, 1814.

SIR, — I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your note. I shall think myself happy to have done the least to oblige a man to whom every virtuous *American* will readily acknowledge himself under so many obligations.

I take the liberty to send you one of my orations. It was written in haste, and in obedience to the wishes of our corporation. It became my duty to defend the study

* Rev. Jason Chamberlain, Professor of Greek and Latin in the University of Vermont, from 1811 to 1814, was born in Holliston, Mass., Feb. 9, 1783, and graduated at Brown University in 1804. In 1808 he was settled over the Congregational Church in Guilford, Vt. After the expiration of his term of service in the University he went to Missouri, and practised law. He was accidentally drowned in Arkansas in 1820. See Gilman's Bibliography of Vermont, p. 285. — Eds.

of the languages, which I sincerely think is useful. I would not, however, introduce them to the exclusion of one of the sciences, and I would also recommend the study of the modern languages, and particularly the French, to the one who is desirous of a finished education.

We have every reason to believe that our Lake (Champlain) was formerly much larger than at present. Our large flats have every appearance of having been overflowed. Lake shells are found in great abundance in the rocks more than two miles from the lake. They may be taken entire by breaking the stones of which they compose a part. The aspect of the land and the quality of the soil indicate that the waters have receded some distance from their former banks. I believe that some of the barriers in the St. Lawrence have in times past broken away, and that all the lakes are much smaller than they were in former ages. I suggest this idea because I know that you have not been inattentive to the natural history of our country, while your administration forms so splendid a period in our civil history.

With veneration for your publick character and private worth,

I am your most obedient,

JASON CHAMBERLAIN.

The Hon. THO. JEFFERSON, Esq.

WILLIAM SHORT TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

PHILADELPHIA, June 9, 14.

DEAR SIR, — Mr Rives has presented to me the letter by which you were so kind as to make us acquainted. He has been here now some days & I have been very much pleased with him. His being your friend would have insured him at any rate my attention, but I really return you my thanks for having procured me so agreeable an acquaint-

ance. I have taken pleasure in introducing Mr Rives to such of my friends here as I thought would be most agreeable to him. It is, however, an unfavorable season for a stranger to visit Philadelphia, as many of the inhabitants are absent in the country. I have procured Mr Rives the means of seeing the loom you wished him to examine, which was more than I had done myself, but it always so happens that what we can see at any time, we are apt to postpone at all times. This at least was always the case with me to a great degree, but now more than ever, for I perceive a general *insouciance* growing on me. I endeavour to persuade myself that this mode of acting with me is the result of sound philosophy; but it is probable that I flatter myself, & that in fact I am indebted for it to disposition & circumstances. I see nothing within my attainment worth taking any trouble about, & content myself therefore with avoiding evil rather than pursuing any positive good. In this way I have gone on so far without even having a house to live in myself or receive a friend, merely to avoid the trouble of housekeeping. I purchased a house here on my return to America for the purpose, but on closer examination gave up the plan, & I believe I have done better, in my present disposition of mind, to content myself with the life of a boarding house. My friends urge me much to change my "free & unhoused condition," but though I have no apprehension from the example of Othello, yet I do not feel that exclusive attraction to one particular object, which with me would be a *sine qua non* to a contract of this kind. I have no doubt, however, that I should have done wiser to have adopted this measure in earlier life. Probably the having been once on the very border of this state, & finding the effect which time produced on that disposition, would make me more cautious as to the entering into it without the possibility of return. I do not the less, however, believe that in this country more than any other the married

state is a desirable one. Our friend Correa says that it is a country where there is *beaucoup de bonheur & peu de plaisir*, & this seems to me a good definition of the state of marriage, perfectly conformable to the maxim of La Rochefoucauld.

Apropos of Correa, he has left us for his western excursion *via* Pittsburgh; he will go through Ohio, Kentucky, &c., & enter Virginia by the southwestern frontier & pay you a visit *en passant*. This is a long & painful journey for a man at his time of life, & what is worse, with a disorder that disables from riding on horseback. It is being *roué* indeed to go on wheels over such a distance of such roads. The prospect of Monticello at the end of his route, he says, will support him in it.

I do not know whether the manner in which the Allies have conducted themselves at Paris will reconcile Correa to their having passed the Rhine. He wished the end of Bonaparté as much as any body, but he was not reconciled to the counter revolution by the Allies. In his plan they were not to have crossed the Rhine, & when he left us he had not yet pardoned them for it. It is difficult, however, to conceive that this great & momentous business could have been effected in an easier & better manner than was done after the Allies entered Paris. It is the best thing that could have happened for France & all Europe. Indeed, for many years back, from the time that Bonaparté proved that his only object was to erect a permanent despotism on the anarchy he had destroyed, I was convinced that the restoration of the Bourbons was the most desirable event for France. I used every argument in my power to inspire the great & the good Moreau with this sentiment. He came to this country very differently impressed with respect to the Bourbons, notwithstanding he was banished under the pretext of being their partisan. His mind whilst here had undergone a total change on this subject. Our friend Correa refuses

to subscribe to this opinion, however, & he was certainly intimate with Moreau; but I think his own feelings have led him into error on this point. For Moreau, who was made up of honor & candor, was incapable of duplicity. I saw the progress of this revolution in his sentiments; it was slow & perceptible, & proceeded from his acquaintance & intimacy with a fellow exile & companion in misfortune, more than from any other circumstance. This was De Neuville (who brought you a letter from M^{de} d'Houdetot), one of the best, most noble, honest, & disinterested hearts that I ever met with. He was the active & intrepid agent of Louis 18, & exiled to this country after running ten thousand risks; here his acquaintance with Moreau begun. They had a common enemy, they were both strangers in a foreign land, both good Frenchmen; an unreserved intimacy soon grew between them. Moreau knew that de Neuville was incapable of deception or dissimulation. De Neuville was personally acquainted with the character & disposition of L. 18, & thus by degrees removed the prejudices with which Moreau had grown up in his public life against the whole of that race; that done, the great difficulty was overcome. In the last conversation which I had with Moreau, I found that no apprehension remained in his mind but that which arose from the influence of the priests, which he feared would exist under the Bourbons; but on the whole he had no doubt that their restoration by the will of the French people would be the most desirable event that could take place for France. I sincerely hope & believe that the consequences will be such as Moreau contemplated. And now that the general interests are provided for, all my anxiety is to hear of my private friends, & learn what has been their fate in this new &, I hope, last revolution. Poor Lafayette & his Merinos were on the very route by which the armies passed, & I much fear the Cossacks will have been wolves in his fold.

The country seat of M^{de} de La Rochefoucauld was also on the route; the allied armies were three times in advancing & retiring at La Ferté sous Jouarre. Her house is the most visible object in the neighborhood, & will, without doubt, have attracted their notice. She herself was not there at that season, & she had no Merinos, but the furniture was valuable.

In the midst of my rejoicing for this return of peace to France, I cannot help feeling a drawback on account of our unfortunate situation. I have little hope of peace for ourselves. It could now only come from our enemy copying the magnanimity & disinterested policy of the virtuous Alexander. I should as soon expect, with Horace, to see the wild deer suspended in the branches of the lofty forest. We have, I fear, nothing but disaster before us,—a long & disgraceful war followed by an humiliating & disgraceful peace. As we have as yet sent only five ministers in pursuit of this peace, & as our rulers seem to have confidence in numbers, I think when Congress meet they will do well to send the whole Committee of Foreign Relations. If they could have disposed of this committee at the time of declaring war, with the virtuous patriotic, & brave Peter B. Porter at their head, we might perhaps have preserved peace, & been able now with all Europe to sit down to a table of concord, instead of the war feast which they called us to.

If I were not ashamed I would again trouble you as to the boundary business. But you have had so much trouble already, & I am so sure you will have it settled if you can, that I will not importune you at this moment. Monroe must have so many other important subjects in his head that this must be to him invisible. I will for the present bid you adieu, then, with renewed assurances of the invariable sentiments with which I am, dear Sir,

Your friend & servant,

W. SHORT.

EDWARD COLES* TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

WASHINGTON, July 31st, 1814.

DEAR SIR, — I never took up my pen with more hesitation or felt more embarrassment than I now do in addressing you on the subject of this letter. The fear of appearing presumptuous distresses me, and would deter me from venturing thus to call your attention to a subject of such magnitude, and so beset with difficulties, as that of a general emancipation of the slaves of Virginia, had I not the highest opinion of your goodness and liberality, in not only excusing me for the liberty I take, but in justly appreciating my motives in doing so.

I will not enter on the *right* which man has to enslave his brother man, nor upon the moral and political effects of slavery on individuals or on society; because these things are better understood by you than by me. My object is to entreat and beseech you to exert your knowledge and influence in devising, and getting into operation, some plan for the gradual emancipation of slavery. This difficult task could be less exceptionably, and more successfully performed by the revered fathers of all our political and social blessings than by any succeeding statesmen; and would seem to come with peculiar propriety and force from those whose valor, wisdom, and virtue have done so much in meliorating the condition of mankind. And it is a duty, as I conceive, that devolves particularly on you, from your known philosophical, and enlarged view of subjects, and from the principles you

* Edward Coles was born in Albemarle County, Virginia, Dec. 15, 1786, and was educated at Hampden-Sidney College and at William and Mary College, where he graduated in 1807. From 1810 to 1816 he was private secretary to President Madison; and in the following year he was sent on a confidential mission to Russia. In 1819 he removed to Illinois, and freed all his slaves, giving to each head of a family a quarter-section of land. From 1823 to 1826 he was Governor of Illinois, and during his term of office prevented the slavery extensionists from obtaining control of the State. In 1833 he removed to Philadelphia, where he died July 7, 1868. See Appleton's Cyclopædia of American Biography, vol. i. p. 687; Lanman's Biographical Annals, p. 90. — Eds.

have professed and practiced through a long and useful life, pre-eminently distinguished, as well by being foremost in establishing on the broadest basis the rights of man, and the liberty and independence of your country, as in being throughout honored with the most important trusts by your fellow-citizens, whose confidence and love you have carried with you into the shades of old age and retirement. In the calm of this retirement you might, most beneficially to society, and with much addition to your own fame, avail yourself of that love and confidence to put into complete practice those hallowed principles contained in that renowned Declaration, of which you were the immortal author, and on which we bottomed our right to resist oppression and establish our freedom and independence.

I hope that the fear of failing, at this time, will have no influence in preventing you from employing your pen to eradicate this most degrading feature of British colonial policy, which is still permitted to exist, notwithstanding its repugnance as well to the principles of our revolution as to our free institutions. For however highly prized and influential your opinions may now be, they will be still much more so when you shall have been snatched from us by the course of nature. If, therefore, your attempt should now fail to rectify this unfortunate evil—an evil most injurious both to the oppressed and to the oppressor—at some future day when your memory will be consecrated by a grateful posterity, what influence, irresistible influence, will the opinions and writings of Thomas Jefferson have on all questions connected with the rights of man, and of that policy which will be the creed of your disciples. Permit me, then, my dear Sir, again to intreat you to exert your great powers of mind and influence, and to employ some of your present leisure in devising a mode to liberate one half of our fellowbeings from an ignominious bondage to the other, either by



making an immediate attempt to put in train a plan to commence this goodly work, or to leave human nature the invaluable testament, which you are so capable of doing, how best to establish its rights; so that the weight of your opinion may be on the side of emancipation when that question shall be agitated,—and that it will be, sooner or later, is most certain. That it may be soon is my most ardent prayer; that it will be rests with you.

I will only add, as an excuse for the liberty I take in addressing you on this subject, which is so particularly interesting to me, that from the time I was capable of reflecting on the nature of political society, and of the rights appertaining to man, I have not only been principled against slavery, but have had feelings so repugnant to it as to decide me not to hold them; which decision has forced me to leave my native State, and with it all my relations and friends. This, I hope, will be deemed by you some excuse for the liberty of this intrusion, of which I gladly avail myself to assure you of the very great respect and esteem with which I am, my dear Sir, your very sincere and devoted friend,

EDWARD COLES.

TH : JEFFERSON.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO WILLIAM SHORT.

MONTICELLO, Aug. 20, 14.

DEAR SIR, — Since my short letter by Mr. Rives I have to acknowledge the receipt of your two favors of June 9 & July 30. A few days before the last came to hand I had written to Col^o. Monroe, & prayed him to name a day in the autumn (when the fall of the leaves shall have rendered a survey in the woods practicable), and to procure an engagement from Champe Carter to attend and let us have a surveyor and arbitrators on the spot to settle the questioned boundary. I delayed answering your last letter in the hope that he might in the instant of receiving

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my letter write to me off-hand. Having failed to do this, the time of his answering is too indefinite to postpone further the giving you the present state & prospect of the business which you desire.

The state of the case is this : John Carter, eldest son of the family, sold to Monroe, bounding him "on the South by a run on the Eastern side of Dick's plantation, & running thence to the source of the sd. run," but no line was actually marked or examined by either party. It is said that John Carter had no right to sell, but that Champe, from family considerations, concluded to acquiesce. I do not know that this fact is true, having it only from neighborhood report. Champe afterwards sold to you, and attended us in surveying & marking the line. Ascending the run far above Dick's plantation, it forked, each run being equally large & extending nearly to the top of the mountain, but the southern branch something the nearest. We knew nothing of the line specified in Monroe's deed, but Mr. Carter, professing to know it & to lead the surveyor, started from the fork and run a straight line between the two branches to the top of the mountain, thus dividing the interval which the two branches rendered doubtful; but not a word of any doubt was then expressed; I presumed he knew what was right and was doing it. Col^o. Monroe, sometime after his return from Europe, ment^d. to me in conversation that the line as run between you & him by Mr. Carter, was as he had been informed, questionable, but he could not then explain to me how; nor did I ever learn how till after the sale to Higgenbotham. Indeed from the continued silence on the subject I believed the claim dropped till I recieved a line from Higgenbotham informing me Mr. Hay had notified him of it, and Col^o. M. soon afterwards called on me, shewed his deed, and explained to me for the first time the nature of his claim. We agreed that Mr. Carter should be desired to attend, that we would take two



neighbors as arbitrators, go on the land and settle the question on view. The topics of your right are these : I. If Champe Carter's confirmation of John's sale were necessary to supply the defect of title, then the demarcation of the line which he made in person was a declaration of the precise extent to which he did confirm. II. The run, which was made the boundary to it's source, branching by the way, and each branch being equally entitled to be considered as the run whose source was to decide, neither could claim exclusively to be called Dick's run ; the compromise made by Mr. Carter by running the line between them was a fair one, and after an acquiescence of 21 years, and that length of actual & adverse possession in you, ought to be considered as satisfactory to the parties, and especially when no effective step had been taken to maintain a contrary claim till after the land had been long notified as for sale, & a sale actually made ; the delay of the settlement has entirely rested with the other party. Price, who knows the two branches, thinks there may be about 25 acres between them, one half of which only is within the actual line.

Next, as to the prospect. On closing this letter I shall write to John Carter, who lives in Amherst, for information as to his right and his idea of the boundary, & if his information is of consequence I shall either get his deposition taken by consent of parties, or require his personal attendance as a witness. I must press upon Col^o. Monroe the fixing a day when he can attend, and some one to act for him if he does not attend. Champe Carter, I suppose, will readily agree to be bound if he does not attend. I should have been very confident of finishing this at Monroe's next visit, for he is anxious to finish it, but that the call of Congress the 19th of Sep. will render his attendance difficult. If so, I will endeavor to prevail on him to appoint some one here to act for him ; for his personal presence cannot be of much importance.

Wm. W. W.

I think the downfall of Bonaparte a great blessing for Europe, which never could have had peace while he was in power. Every national society there also will be restored to their antient limits, and to the kind of government, good or bad, which they chuse. I believe the restoration of the Bourbons is the only point on which France could be rallied, and that their re-establishment is better for that country than civil wars, whether they should be a peaceable nation under a fool or a warring one under a military despot of genius. To us alone this brings misfortune. It rids of all other enemies a tyrannical nation, fully armed, and deeply embittered by the wrongs they have done us. They may greatly distress individuals in their circumstances; but the soil and the men will remain unconquerable by them, and drinking deeper daily a more deadly, unquenchable, and everlasting hatred to them. How much less money would it cost to them and pain to us, to nourish mutual affections & mutual interests & happiness. But the destructive passions seem to have been implanted in man, as one of the obstacles to his too great multiplication. While we are thus gnawed, however, by national hatreds we retire with delight into the bosom of our individual friendships; in the full feeling of which I salute you affectionately.

TH : JEFFERSON.

Mr. SHORT.

WILLIAM A. BURWELL* TO —.

WASH^{TON}, Sept. 21st, 1814.

D^R SIR, — It was my intention to have called at Warren, but the unexpected call of C. & the necessity of

* William A. Burwell was a warm friend of Jefferson, and at one time his private secretary. From 1806 to his death he was one of the Representatives in Congress from Virginia. He died in Washington Feb. 16, 1821. (See Lanman's Biographical Annals, p. 60.) The address of this letter has not been preserved, but it was probably written to Wilson C. Nicholas. — Eds.

visiting Bal. previous to the meeting renderd it impossible. The Pt's message, which I have forwarded, will give you all the information of a public nature; I can not add much to it.

I have never witnessed a period of more difficulty, tho I do not entirely despair; if we can command funds to maintain ourselves during this campaign I have hopes the war will be terminated; this I acknowledge is a view of our affairs too favorable to be relied upon. Perhaps the British may penetrate the full extent of our difficulties, &, instead of terminating the war after inflicting upon the seaboard satisfactory vengeance, cherish hopes of conquest by persevering in the war. It would be dangerous to hold out the idea of preparing only for this campaign; if possible we should lay the foundation for permanent resistance by providing money & filling the Regular Army. I have most serious fears the first can not be accomplishd; the parties still hang aloof from each other, & without some concurrence of feeling & action public credit must fail. Nothing can effectually defend the country but Regulars; the calls upon militia considerd as to efficiency, expence, discontent, &c., cannot be continued without entirely deranging the operations of the war, & hasarding the tranquility of the country. Of the events which accompanied the capture of the City it is impossible to speak without disgust. You cannot conceive more confusion & dismay among the commanders; all the intelligent people of the District think the enemy might have been foiled, & perhaps taken, if every obstruction within the means of our commanders had been placed in their way. The effect had nearly proved fatal to Baltimore, but the check given them by Gen'l S.* & the brave firmness of the officers & men in the fort have restored confidence to the citizens. It is wonderful

* Gen. John Stricker, to whom had been intrusted the defence of Baltimore. — Eds.

that the fort was not destroyed; the B. threw 1000 shells when the men were uncovered, & the magazine not made bomb proof. They fell in every direction, & marks of their destructive effects visible everywhere. This fatal negligence has been repaired & Com. Rodgers assured me on Saturday evening that in 48 hours he would defy them. After their failure upon the fort, they passed under cover of the night above the fort up the ferry branch near Spring Garden, from which they could throw their bombs in to the Town; they were so confident of success when they gained this position that they gave nine cheers, which were answered by a most tremendous cannonade from two forts manned by sailors erected to meet such an event. They appear to have been ignorant of this defence, and retreated with the utmost precipitation. The repulse of the enemy from B. will enable the people to prepare more effectually, but I have no doubt they will renew the attack the moment reinforcements are obtained, & I fear the undisciplined valor of our countrymen will not be equal to the discipline [of] the B. I never felt more anxiety for the fate of any place, because I was satisfied success would have been followed by the total destruction of the labors of years & one of the most useful towns in the Union. It is most probable these details have all been anticipated by letters from your friends in B. Please remember me to Mr P. & the family.

Your friend,

W. A. BURWELL.

WILLIAM SHORT TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 28, 14.

DEAR SIR, — Your favor of the 20th of August followed me in my summer's tour & overtook me whilst on the road. I postponed, therefore, acknowledging it until my return to winter quarters. I have been not the less

grateful for your kindness & the trouble you are taking to bring to a happy conclusion the disputed limits between Monroe & myself. If his presence should be really necessary, or even his personal agency be made by him a *sine quam non*, I fear these limits will remain as long unsettled as those brought forward at Ghent are likely to be. I have always known Monroe to be dilatory, always behind his business, always hurried, & of course unable to attend to any but those calls which are most imperious & force his mind. Now in the midst of so many other louder & more imperious calls furnished by the duties of his public & double offices* I have little hope that this little microscopic & silent object which has been allowed to sleep for so many years, can now make itself to be either seen or heard. And the more so, as its result at best might only be to awaken an old & silent debt, instead of adding to the extent of his territory. I believe I mentioned to you that Mr Carter had been here & told me what had passed on this subject. On hearing of this claim of Monroe it awakened on his side a claim which he had also against him for the land he had sold him. He said the balance due was about equal to the land claimed by Monroe, & he had proposed to him, I think, to set off one against the other, as the easiest & best mode of terminating the business, if Monroe's claim should prove to be founded. But this mode of paying old debts did not probably meet Monroe's approbation, as nothing further has been done on the subject. For myself I feel a great desire to have it settled in one way or other; not so much from the value of the subject as from an inherent aversion which I feel to having things in an unsettled state. You mentioned, as the call of Congress would render Monroe's attendance impossible, you would endeavor to prevail on him to appoint some one to act for

* Mr. Monroe was Secretary of State, and at this time he was also discharging the duties of Secretary of War.—Eds.

him, so as to finish the affair. I suppose he has not done this, & I regret it; for as to his acting or attending in person I consider it out of the question, and if he does not substitute some one the thing must go on without end.

I think with you on the subject of the downfall of Bonaparté. I believe, however, that as our war was begun & carried on, his continuance in power would not have given us peace. The war, to be sure, could not have been carried on against us by our enemy with the same violence, nor would his terms have been so outrageous, but yet many causes of war would have existed which have ceased by the peace of Europe, & I am persuaded our Western statesmen would have remained too sensitive on the rights of sailors to have admitted of a return to the ways of peace in defiance of John Bull's prejudices. There is always more difficulty in resuming peace than in avoiding war. Of this our great statesmen do not seem to have been aware. At present it is useless to look back. Either by our own follies or by the follies & ignorance of our leaders, we are at sea, & the only thing to be enquired into is the best or least bad manner of getting again into port. For my part, however, who am never sanguine, all my hopes are gone. I have no doubt that the soil & men will remain unconquerable, & that the deadly hatred will increase against an enemy which makes us suffer so much, & will make us suffer so much more. For I have no doubt the war will continue, & continuing will change our mode of existence, not only in a private but political sense. And when once we enter on that kind of ocean I see no hand able to guide us. I have certainly none of those party prejudices against our leaders which are felt by so many. If there be a man in the country who is impartial & who allows his mind coolly & dispassionately to examine the measures of government, I think I may say I am that man. I have nothing to hope or fear from them, so as to have my judgment

biassed. I try, indeed, to hope for the best. I have need of that kind of consolation; but the effects of their measures or their madness (for I do them the justice to believe they wish well to their country) have been long staring me too full in the face to admit of my being blind to them, notwithstanding my real desire to be so. “*Delirant reges plectuntur Achivi.*” I have had too many occasions to see that a nation’s sufferings may come from other leaders as well as kings, & may be carried as far.

I have been more than once astonished to find myself on the verge of taking up my pen to address the public. I have never yet appeared in that character, & nothing but indignation could make me assume it. I have been checked, perhaps as much as by any thing else, by the want of some chanel, for the newspapers are all so completely of one or the other color that whatever appears in them loses its natural tone & is considered as belonging to one or other of the sides of party spirit, & of course would be recieved or rejected according to the passion of the reader & could answer no good purpose. Although it would be indignation which would make me write, yet it would be with the hope or the view of being useful.

It often occurs to me to repass in my mind your manner of viewing political subjects. I remember that you are less than any one apt to despond. It would be a relief to me if I were so near you as to hear your sentiments. This might perhaps restore hope to me. At present I really have none. The continuance of the war appears to me inevitable. Our enemy is resolved on it most unquestionably, & without his consent we cannot have peace, as it requires both parties to get out of a war, although one is sufficient to get into it. One of the attendants here on war must be a paper money. It may be called by some other name, & will be attempted to be disguised in various ways; but come it must, or the wheels of government must stop, notwithstanding the

great financial talents of the ingenious & dexterous new Secretary.* I had a right to hope that my situation was a secure one; my fortune was clear & ample; it had grown gradually & was therefore the more solid. It was never exposed to speculation of any kind in order to increase it. So far as my own acts were concerned, it could not be exposed; but against the acts of government I have no means of securing myself. The men & the soil will not be conquered by the enemy; but they may be conquered by ruin, & will then be ready for any change. We need not go beyond modern history & modern dates to see what changes may be effected in men's minds by a change of circumstances. A person who is not on the spot to examine can form no idea of the mass of distress & ruin which exists already or threatens to exist. If by a mere reform of expences this could be met, it would be supportable; but it bears on that class which had no reform to make. The rich are beginning to prepare for misfortune. I might be considered among the most rich, in comparing my revenue to my moderate wants, and yet I see I shall be obliged to draw still further on that source, the moderation of my wants. In addition to all this, should Lord Hill make his appearance the distress would be increased to an hundred fold degree. As it is, thousands of the best men of the place, most of them with families, & many with families dependent on their labor or their industry, are now in camp, & have been since the invasion of Washington. How unequal the conflict, in the eye of a real statesman, between such men as these & the ragamuffin of Europe, bought at a few pence a day, & whose loss is only felt in their regiment, & repaired by a new recruit, whilst on our side the loss is felt throughout a whole family w^{ch} remains behind. It will not bear reflecting on. I will fly to a more agreeable subject, that

* Alexander J. Dallas had been appointed Secretary of the Treasury a few weeks before the date of this letter. See note, *ante*, p. 106. — Eds.

of assuring you of the sincere & invariable sentiments with which I am bound to you most affectionately.

W. SHORT.

Is Correa still with you? We long to have him here, but I fear he will soon fly from us; & since the downfall of Bonaparte, I feel surviving in me a desire w^{ch} was dead, that of returning to France.

JAMES MADISON TO WILSON C. NICHOLAS.

WASHINGTON, Novr 26, 1814.

DEAR SIR,—I did not receive your favor of the 11th instant till a few days ago, and I have till now been too much indisposed to acknowlege it.

You are not mistaken in viewing the conduct of the Eastern States as the source of our greatest difficulties in carrying on the war, as it certainly is the greatest, if not the sole, inducement with the enemy to persevere in it. The greater part of the people in that quarter have been brought by their leaders, aided by their priests, under a delusion scarcely exceeded by that recorded in the period of witchcraft; and the leaders are becoming daily more desperate in the use they make of it. Their object is power. If they could obtain it by menaces, their efforts would stop there. These failing, they are ready to go every length for which they can train their followers. Without foreign co-operation, revolts & separation will hardly be risked; and what the effect of so profligate an experiment may be, first on deluded partizans, and next on those remaining faithful to the nation who are respectable for their consistency, and even for their numbers, is for conjecture only. The best may be hoped, but the worst ought to be kept in view. In the mean time the course to be taken by the Gov^t is full of delicacy & per-

plexity ; and the more so under the pinch which exists in our fiscal affairs, & the lamentable tardiness of the Legislature in applying some relief.

At such a moment the vigorous support of the well disposed States is peculiarly important to the General Gov^t ; and it would be impossible for me to doubt that Virg^a, under your administration of its Executive Gov^t, will continue to be among the foremost in zealous exertions for the national rights and success.

Be pleased to accept assurances of my esteem & respect.

JAMES MADISON.

His Exc^y. W. C. NICHOLAS.

JONATHAN MASON* TO WILSON C. NICHOLAS.

To His Excell^y Wilson Carey Nicholas, Esq^r, Governor of State of Virginia, at Richmond.

BOSTON, Nov^r 26, 1814.

MY DEAR SIR, — I am much obliged to you for the very friendly letter you have been pleased to forward to me. I was in the District of Maine when it reached Boston, & it is but a day or two since my return, which will apologize to you for my silence untill this moment. I feel myself gratified by your good opinion, and with great sincerity declare to you that while at Washington, tho' that difference of opinion which you allude to existed between us, I never once doubted the sincerity of your individual politics, nor the ardent love of country which you always ap-

* Jonathan Mason was born in Boston, August 30, 1752, graduated at Princeton in 1774, studied law under John Adams, and was admitted to the bar in 1779. He was repeatedly elected to the State Legislature and also served in the Council. He was a Senator of the United States from December, 1800, to March, 1803, and took an active part in the debates, especially in those on the Judiciary Act, and was a member of the House of Representatives from December, 1817, to May, 1820, when he resigned. He died in Boston, November 1, 1831, leaving a high reputation as a man and a lawyer. (See Appleton's Cyclopædia of American Biography, vol. iv. p. 247.) An interesting diary kept by him in the winter of 1804-1805, is printed in 2 Proceedings, vol. ii. pp. 5-34. — Eds.

peared to possess. I wish the same sincerity & ardour had prevailed universally, and we should not at this moment have been in the wretched, enfeebled, ruinous situation we now are. If you have hitherto been retired in life & surrounded with your family, I can say, if possible, I have been more so. I have refused every office of every kind, & scarcely suffered myself to talk upon politicks. I am ready to say that I have differed in sentiments very often with my best friends. They have thought better of Gt Britain than I have, & often times defended her conduct with more zeal than prudence. I have never doubted that her designs & practise were unfriendly to this country, that she envied our prosperity, that her policy was narrow, & that by her unjust captures & depredations she gave us ample cause of war. But having said thus much, here I stop. As to the time or the expediency of declaring war at all, I think the administration not only short sighted, but unpardonable & criminal. I cannot but think that both of our late Presidents discovered their partialities between the two countries in too great a degree. If we receiv'd injuries from Great Britain, we certainly received as great from France, & always accompanied with the most degrading, insulting, opprobrious language. These faults & aggressions were concealed & palliated by the government, while those of Great Britain were magnified. The French decrees were declared to be repealed, & in consequence of those declarations we took a hostile attitude towards G^t B., when the French emperor, nearly a year after, said they were not repealed. All this conduct prior to the war gave to G^t B. plausible cause of complaint, & hurt our own cause in the eyes of all Europe. Neutrals suffer in all wars. They are oppressed & oftentimes unjustly plundered & insulted by belligerents, but they reap their advantages with their sufferings, & I do not think that their honour, be their situation what it may, demands of them to resent & go to war for every

cause of complaint. We had also been goading G^t Britain with embargoes, non-intercourse, & other restrictive systems, which in point of time, whether designed or not, wonderfully comported with the views of Bone Parte in his Continental system, & the time of declaring the war was the moment of his expedition against Russia. These facts of themselves give to G^t Britain but too much reason to suppose that we in fact had ceased to be a neutral nation towards her, & had sided with her enemy. But that we were totally unprepared for a war & as totally unskilled in conducting of it, compleatly ignorant of the resources of the country & still more ignorant of the wisest, most upright, & honourable mode of commanding the resources that really did exist, I believe no honest American will now have the hardihood to deny. The consequence is that from the high mountain of prosperity we have fallen into the ditch. In a country full of money & of resources, we cannot command a dollar ; we have no credit, & not a monied man in the Union has any confidence in our integrity. We have little or no army, & we cannot increase it. While the enemy are now preparing to invade us & strike us at the heart, we are spending weeks & months in paper schemes, volunteer & conscription bills, not one of which will pass, & *if* they do, not one of which can be carried into effect. One Secretary after another produce their several schemes, & they all equally prove abortive. Their appears no solid, practical ground to put one's foot upon. We want men, we want money, we want œconomy, we want union, and their does not at Congress appear, either the real talent or the sincere disposition to procure either of them ; on the contrary, a much more apparent disposition to blast what little remains of public credit, & to defraud their creditors. We are, in my estimation, at a compleat stand & bankrupt. We cannot go on, & must take a new departure, with a total change of *men* & measures. *Peace*

must be sought in sincerity & truth, & by men respectable in America & *not* offensive to Great Britain. If this is not done immediately we shall be ruined, — not conquered, but ruined, divided, dissolved, broken to pieces & disgraced. The present terms offered by G^t B. must be accepted as a basis. They probably might be narrowed & so qualified as to be of no *positive* injury to America. If men of the first character in the country & *above all party* could be sent out immediately, & G^t B. should prove unreasonable & desirous of aiming a blow at our vitals, such a compleat exposure of her views would unite our country, & in that case, *if* conciliation, harmony, & a disposition to employ honourable men of all parties should become manifest, we should be able to defend our country with success & bring our enemy to our terms; but not one thing, believe me, Sir, short of all this will ward off disgrace & ruin. My politicks always has been not to go to war with G^t Britain, but to treasure up these injuries of her's towards us, & when able, when grown into manhood & strength, to have fought her, & thrashed her for them; but the comparison now is between an infant and a giant. It is no disgrace for me, scarcely in the gristle, to avoid contention with a man full grown. We might have shown our spirit, preserved our honour, without hazarding our strength upon unequal ground. We have mistaken the character of our enemy & their resources, & we have equally mistaken our own character & our own resources. We are not made or situated for an offensive war. Our institutions, our country, & our seacoast all forbid it. We have equally mistaken our element in forwarding our growth; the sea has been abandoned for the land, & we are consequently naked & without weapons. If we could conquer Canada, it would be a curse to us, but we cannot conquer it; fifty thousand men could not take Canada, & if we could & did, G^t B. is that nation that would suffer her island to sink before she would make peace without

its full & compleat restoration. Every intelligent person must read this in her character. You ask me whether Massachusetts will not now make an exertion, & unite with her efforts to try to effect this object. I answer at once No ; they know they are not able. But they also have not sufficient confidence in the administration to give their aid at all to this war. Its events they have prophesied, & they cannot see any thing in its further prosecution but their ruin. The measures of the Govern^t they have been adverse to, from the commencement of M^r Jefferson's ad^mon. They think their commerce, which is their vitals, has not been neglected only, but destroyed ; their seamen annihilated. They have uniformly protested against the restrictive systems uniformly adopted, & continued untill experience has demonstrated them to be destructive at home, instead of abroad. To this moment they see with pain & mortification not a person appointed to any office, unless the previous question is put, which side he is of, & notwithstanding in so doing, they have been obliged, among us at least, to resort to men of the worst & most inefficient character ; witness your Hulls, your Seavers, your Dearborns, & a thousand others, which you now know as well as myself. The Democrats of this country are not the Democrats of Virginia or the Southern States. There they are men of high honour, property, & birth ; here, to a man they are the véry dregs of the people, & it is no uncommon sight to see men who never were in the receipt of a hundred dollars, now pocketting of the Government's money ten or twelve thousand annually, without contributing one iota to its strength or prosperity. Sir, no government on earth could exist upon this principle for any great length of time. I could write volumes to convince you that the road now is that of subjugation & dissolution. Do you ask me whether Massachusetts are really disposed towards Gt B. ? In sincerity I at once say No, not a man

in the territory. They see as plain as you the wrongs & feel them, but the mode of redress in their estimation has been a two edged sword. Do they wish a disunion of the States? with the same assurance I at once say No. There is not a thinking man in the State but deprecates it. It is a false & willful lye upon their character & conduct. There is no British faction here, & no man that is not proud of his country, & does not see destruction in a separation of the States. But you will forgive them if they want confidence when their commerce has been destroyed, the element upon which that commerce floated, abandoned — a destructive war entered into, without means or preparation of any kind for their protection, the worst of characters to rule over them among themselves, the counsels of the country divided & distracted, inefficient means & fraudulent ones daily proposed & attempted to be carried into effect, the money of the country banished, the treasury empty & without means that have even plausibility to recruit it, two or three hundred institutions issuing their own paper upon their own discretion & credit without responsibility, — and all these circumstances, accompanied by an enemy, the most powerful in Europe, preparing to strike us without an army or the means to raise & support it. Many sensible men are found among us who believe that this Congress, when it began the war, or even this winter, if they had most palpably shown a just disposition towards their creditors & an inflexible determination to pay them when able, might with taxes [have?] raised eno to have religiously paid the interest, & upon that pledge & those dispositions have brot up a system which would have produced a medium & furnished means to carry on the contest; but when you hear people, debtors who are wanting still further to borrow money, cutting up the very ground upon which they stand, by threatning & denouncing the very men they want to borrow of, & to whom they already owe, what can you

think of the wisdom, to say nothing of the integrity, of such people? What can you think of the ability of such men to fight G^t B. ? I could not but smile at the resolutions of your State, declaring the terms of G^t B. arrogant & contemptible & disgracefull, & pledging the State to a prosecution of the war, & immediately under those resolutions a letter to the Sec^y of War, by order of the same State, begging for 100,000\$ only, & declaring that without it they were unable to keep or pay the troops. This is not the situation of your State alone; Massachusetts & all the New England States are in a like predicament. A mere alarm in this quarter this season has cost Massachusetts & New Hampshire a million of dollars. Their credit, which was high & above par, is now shaken & below it. Nobody will trust either of them. If we are to carry this war on, we must look to Congress for an army & for the means to support it, for men & for money. Will Mr Monroe's or Mr Giles's bills procure the one, or Mr Dallas's or Mr Calhoun's the other? You must join with me in pronouncing all these schemes impracticable & inadequate. Twelve weeks have now expired since Congress have been sitting, without having advanced one step towards the opposition of an enemy, who will probably be in the heart of our country before the frost is well out of it. Is there any probability that this army & this money will be raised in season by this Congress, who at best appear distracted & divided in the councils, who show no system, & who appear to have none. What prospect has any State more than the one of being obliged to defend its own shores & territory, without co-operation or assistance? Was there ever a people so situated? And where is this to end? My good Sir, this country is in substantial, solid, almost insuperable difficulties. It requires integrity, wisdom, industry, & even good fortune to palliate or remove these difficulties. It requires all the people of America, & not a party, to support our

exertions. The present men in power are not competent to it, & G^t B. will not treat with M^r M. He must retire or the country and the Union are at end. Measures of totally a different nature must be instantly resorted to, or the time will be gone by. This is plain language, but in my soul I believe it true. We shall not be destroyed to-day or to-morrow, but it will come, & the end of these measures will be disunion & disgrace. I write to you agreeable to your invitation, frankly & sincerely. In my own I endeavor to give you the opinion of those among whom I live. I write for your information & to put you & every other respectable, well meaning American upon reflecting; I do not expect to convince. I should much rather be converted to an opposite opinion. That man would deserve a statue of gold who could take the councils of this country & their conduct, & show light & prosperity in their path. I see the reverse, & nothing that possibly can ward off the blow, but an immediate attempt to make a peace; to get out of this accursed war upon the best terms we possibly can; and this cannot be affected but by employing the best, the wisest, & the most respectable of our country.

I most sincerely congratulate you upon your new appointment, for it confirms my opinion of your character, & it demonstrates the confidence of your fellow-citizens. You must permit me to add with equal honesty, I also pity you. You are obliged to sacrifice domestic comfort for public anxiety, and it requires inspiration from above to guide one's country in times like these. I have only to add, every thing I have said has been sincerely said, without meaning to give offence; you will excuse any warmth if you see it. You & myself have but one object, the prosperity of our country & the safety of our firesides. I shall be very happy again, at your leisure, to hear from you. I will repay with pleasure any debts of this kind. If you see better or different prospects of terminating this

war with honour & success, you are bound to communicate them. With my best respects to your lady & family,

I have the honor to be with respect,

JONⁿ MASON.

JASON CHAMBERLAIN TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

*The Hon. Thomas Jefferson, late President of the United States,
Monticello, Virginia.*

BURLINGTON, VERMONT, Nov. 30, 1814.

HON^r. SIR, — I feel myself highly flattered by the notice you were pleased to take of my oration in your letter of July last. Your speculations on the study of the classics meet my own views on that subject, and the method you recommend is exactly the one I adopted. I have seen many an ingenious young man, after a course of classical reading in the manner you propose, become well versed in most of the studies taught by the other professors.

Inter arma Musæ silent. Our college edifice is leased to the Government for the accomodation of the army, and our collegiate exercises are suspended. Meanwhile, I have resorted to the practice of the law, in order to obtain a reputable support. There are other situations here which would be more congenial to my feelings, but would not afford a good living. I receive a handsome income from my practice and cheerfully submit to my destiny. Though anxious to obtain general information, and to visit other countries, I shall probably spend my days in this place.

We all of us turned out in Sept. last to expel the invader from our shores, and the result must be grateful to the feelings of every friend of his country. The aged forgot their decrepitude and vied with the young, in repairing to the scene of action and in the active contest. All ranks and all ages took their rifles, and with no other uniform than a sprig of evergreen from their native mountains, sought the enemy and fought with enthusiasm.

The days of the wildest chivalry furnish not a scene in which so much ardour and spirit pervaded every class of people. The lake was alive with our hardy mountaineers, whom the oars and winds could not propel with the speed of their wishes.

With sentiments of great respect, I am your most obedient,

JASON CHAMBERLAIN.

The Hon. THOMAS JEFFERSON.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO HORATIO G. SPAFFORD.*

MONTICELLO, Dec. 16, 14.

DEAR SIR, — By the condition of the roads and repeated abandonments of the mail by the way, your favor of Nov. 25 did not come to hand until it was certain from it's contents you had left Washington. I have delayed acknowledging it therefore till you might have reached Albany, and indeed the only object of doing it thus late is to express my regret at not having had the pleasure of recieving you here, which would have been a gratification, for as to public affairs I am entirely withdrawn from every degree of intermeddling with them, and almost of reading or thinking of them. My confidence in those at the helm is so entire as to satisfy me without enquiry that they are going right, and I prefer reading the histories of other times which furnish amusement without anxiety. Writing too is becoming laborious to me & irksome, so that I go to the writing table with reluctance. Retaining, however, my esteem and gratitude for those whose good will has

* Horatio Gates Spafford, a warm political friend of Jefferson, was the author of a *Geography of the United States*, a *Gazetteer of the State of New York*, and a small pamphlet entitled "Some Cursory Observations on the Ordinary Construction of Wheel Carriages," a subject in which Jefferson was much interested. He was born in Tinmouth, Vt., Feb. 18, 1778, and died in Lansingburgh, N. Y., Aug. 7, 1832. See Hough's *American Biographical Notes*, p. 370. — Eds.

been so kindly bestowed upon me, I acknowledge yours particularly, and tender you my best prayers for your health & prosperity.

TH : JEFFERSON.

MR SPAFFORD.

JOHN VAUGHAN * TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

PHILAD , Jan^y 9, 1815.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, Esq., Monticello.

DEAR SIR, — Notwithstanding the previous communications of Mr Correa, & your positive letter of resignation, very great difficulty occurred in prevailing upon the members of the American Philos. Society to accede to your wishes.† It was at last generally understood amongst them that your name was to be withdrawn, leaving, however, the whole open by not formally acting upon your letter. On the day of the election an idea had suggested itself to some that, notwithstanding the letter, some misconstruction might, by design or otherwise, be put by our papers on the motives of the change, & an opinion was circulated that to prevent it you should still be elected, & that then if you could not be prevailed upon to serve again, the act of resignation would be *your own* & a *public* one. Could this have been generally communicated the measure would generally have been adopted. It was too late, & Dr Wistar was elected to succeed you, altho' he was of those who earnestly desired the former course to be pursued. Our friend Correa would, no doubt, have done the same; but there was no opp^y. of communicating to him or others the change proposed in the plan. It was suggested

* John Vaughan was the fourth son of Samuel and Sarah (Hallowell) Vaughan, and was born Jan. 15, 1756. About 1790 he settled in Philadelphia, and for more than fifty years he was an officer of the American Philosophical Society, in which he took a very deep interest. He died in Philadelphia Dec. 13, 1841. See N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg., vol. xix. p. 355; Proceed. Am. Phil. Soc., vol. ii. pp. 131-133. — Eds.

† Jefferson had been for some years President of the American Philosophical Society, but this year he declined a re-election, and was succeeded by Dr. Caspar Wistar. — Eds.

by those who acted upon it that if your determination was not to be shaken, Wistar would come in probably by an unanimous vote, as he had been V-P. 5 y^r before M^r Patterson, & 7 y^r before D^r Barton. In announcing the election, we did not think it proper to publish to the world the whole of your letter, which might have been occasionally detached from the publication; but preferred interweaving the *fact* with it, in the manner you will have seen. But for your peremptory letter, supported by your private communications to M^r Correa, your name *could not have been withdrawn*. It had served us too well to be easily relinquished.

You will shortly have a visit from a young man of distinguished learning & talents, a M^r George Ticknor of Boston; he carries letters from M^r Adams & D^r Wistar. His career will be the Law, but his fortune admitting it, he means to pass some time in Europe, with a view of enlarging his knowledge before he establishes himself at home. Previous to his tour he visits our cities as far as Washington, & in his way to pay his respects to you. Such young men, appearing as travellers, will do credit to the country. I have brought him acquainted with M^r Gilmore, with whom he is much pleased, & thinks of him more highly than of any young man he has seen since he left home. I believe M^r G. is equally pleased with him. M^r Correa will give M^r T. letters for Europe, & if from the state of Europe M^r C puts in execution his favorite project of returning to Paris I shall try to arrange the plan for their going together. M^r T. will be happy to be honored with your commands. Wishing you many happy returns of the season,

I remain, your sincere friend,

JN^o VAUGHAN.

P. S. I do not know whether you possess any part of Michaux's Amⁿ. Forest Trees. The 2^d & 3^d vol. are here.

The first vol. consists of the Pines & Noyers. Some persons who had taken this being removed from the country, these two last vol. can be procured, but not, I believe, the whole work. It is much appreciated, & I could very readily dispose of several complete copies if I had them.

MEMORANDUM OF TAXABLE PROPERTY.

A LIST of the taxable property of the subscriber in Albemarle, Mar., 1815.

	Rate.	Amount.
5640 acres of land (including 400 a ^s on Hard-ware held jointly with Hudson & others) . @	.85	
90 slaves of or above the age of 12 years . .	.80	72.
12 d ^o of 9 and under 12 years of age . . .	.50	6.
73 head of cattle	.03	2.19
27 horses, mares, mules, & colts	.21	5.67
1 ice house	5.	5.
1 gigg & harness		
1 4-wheeled carriage (landau)		
House		
4 clocks		
1 bureau or secretary, mahogany	.50	.50
2 book cases d ^o	.50	1.
4 chests of drawers d ^o	.25	1.
1 side board with doors & drawers, mahogany .		
8 separate parts of dining tables d ^o	.25	2.
13 tea and card tables d ^o	.25	3.25
6 sophas with gold leaf	.22 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.33 $\frac{1}{2}$
36 chairs, mahogany	.06 $\frac{1}{4}$	2.25
44 d ^o gold leaf	.03	1.32
11 pr window curtains, foreign	.10	1.10
16 portraits in oil	.25	4.
1 d ^o crayon	.12 $\frac{1}{2}$	.12 $\frac{1}{2}$
64 picture, prints & engravings with frames		
more than 12 i.	.15	9.60
39 d ^o under 12 i. with gilt frames	.10	3.90
3 looking glasses 5 f. long	5.	15.
3 d ^o 4 f. and not 5 f.	3.	9.
1 d ^o 3 f. and not 4 f.	2.	2.
2 d ^o 2 f. and not 3 f.	1.	2.

	Rate.	Amount.
1 harpsichord		
2 silver watches	.50	1.
2 silver coffee pots	.50	1.
3 plated urns & coffee pots	.10	.30
13 plated candlesticks	.05	.65
4 cut glass decanters	.05	.20
10 silver cups	.10	1.
1 manufacturing mill renting at 1280 D. @ $2\frac{3}{4}$		
p. c.		
1 toll grist mill		
1 saw mill		

TH : JEFFERSON.

GEORGE TICKNOR* TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

PHILADELPHIA, March 6, 1815.

DEAR SIR,—In consequence of letters which I have this morning, and, in fact, this moment received from Boston, giving me notice of the intention of several of my nearest friends to embark for Europe in some of the earliest vessels, I have determined to hasten home & avail myself of an opportunity which, on every account, will be so grateful to me. I take, therefore, the liberty you allowed me, of writing to you and asking you to do me the favour to forward to my address in Boston the letters to your friends in Europe, which your politeness offered me, and any commands in relation to collecting a library, or any other business, wh. it may suit your convenience to entrust to me. If to these, you will have the goodness

* George Ticknor was born in Boston August 1, 1791, graduated at Dartmouth College in 1807, and in 1815 made his first visit to Europe, where he remained until 1819. In August of that year he began a distinguished career as Professor of Modern Languages and Belles Lettres in Harvard College. He filled this chair until 1835. In 1849, he published his *History of Spanish Literature*, of which four editions were printed in English, and which was translated into German and Spanish. In 1864 appeared his *Life of William H. Prescott*, which passed through two editions. He was also the author of several minor publications, and was one of the most influential persons in shaping the policy of the Boston Public Library. He died in Boston Jan. 26, 1871. See *Life, Letters, and Journals of George Ticknor*; *Memoir in Proceedings*, vol. xx. pp. 384-391; *Appleton's Cyclopædia of American Biography*, vol. vi. pp. 111, 112. — Eds.

to add a letter to Mr. Gallatin,* to whom, I believe, nobody in N. England is competent to introduce me, & on whom as an American citizen, I suppose I have some indefinite claims, you will add much to the favour which your kindness has already promised me.

I cannot suffer this opportunity to pass without repeating my acknowledgements for the advice & instruction I received from you in relation to my projected voyage & visit to Europe; and all the various kindness and hospitality which I found under your roof & amidst your family. I beg you to present my regards to Col. Randolph & his lady, and to those of your grandchildren with whom I had the pleasure of becoming acquainted, & to permit me to hope that, if I am so fortunate as to be remembered in the happy circle which philosophy & affection have gathered round your fire-side, it may be as your

Most obliged & obedient friend,

GEORGE TICKNOR.

MR. JEFFERSON, Monticello.

WILLIAM SHORT TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

PHILADELPHIA, March 11, 15.

DEAR SIR,— Your kind & friendly letter of Nov. 28 gave me not the less pleasure for having remained so long unacknowledged. The cause of my silence has been an affection in the eyes so highly inflammatory as to preclude me from the use of my pen & my books. The disorder seems now to have left me, but I am not yet placed on the *statu quo ante*, & am obliged to use my eyes sparingly. I cannot, however, longer postpone thanking you for all the details of your letter & particularly for one phrase which was of great use & comfort to me during that dark

* Mr. Gallatin had been sent to Europe as one of the envoys for negotiating peace with Great Britain. — Eds.

& to me desponding period. I frequently recurred to the letter to read over again the sentence "tranquillity of mind depends much on ourselves & greatly on due reflection 'how much pain have cost us the evils which have never happened.'" I little then expected how soon this would be verified in an event which all human reason forbad us to look for, — the restoration of peace. I hail it as the salvation of our country, & as a new proof how inscrutable are the ways of Providence.

As to the war, I have always thought that both France & England gave us sufficient cause to declare it against either at any time from the commencement of theirs. It was the expediency of declaring it that I denied, & the stupid manner in which it was conducted that I blamed. I was disgusted also to see, with so many persons who were called Americans, that an injury or insult offered to America was considered so only according to the country from which it came. Some were English, some French, & none Americans. From many of those who were now all alive to national honor as regarded England, & ready to throw down the gauntlet, I remembered when in Europe to have read speeches at the time of the French war, all pacific & making calculations to shew how many more dollars one campaign would cost us than all the vessels & cargoes that France could take from us. Mr Madison, I recollect, when first I met him at Monticello, went into an argument with me by way of interrogations, the whole marrow of which was to shew (& shewed that he thought) the Directory a set of good, honest souls who never would have thought of plundering or injuring us in any way if we had been kind & shewn affection to them, &c., &c. I could not help smiling in his face at so much simplicity or so much ignorance, & assured him they were a pack of the most worthless scoundrels that chance had ever put at the head of a government, & that they plundered us for the real love of plunder & want of employment for

some of their dependents; that if we were nearer to them & more in their power they would plunder us so much the more, as they had done to those powers or rather those people who had always shewn the greatest possible affection for them. I could not restrain myself, & probably shewed a contempt of his fine system, which has never, I believe, been forgiven me. He knit his brow & never again interrogated me as to France; acting on this as all those fretful & obstinate men who do not enquire in order really to obtain information, but to obtain answers confirming their own systems & ideas. However, peace be to him. Providence has favored him & drawn him out of a situation which otherwise would have placed him in a point of view truly ridiculous in history. I congratulate him on his happy escape, because we are saved with him.

It gave me great pleasure to see that your valuable library was to be secured & forever kept together. It would have been much to be regretted that it should have been exposed, after you, to be divided & separated. This would unavoidably have been the case in a few generations if left to private hands. The fate of that of Westover was a sufficient warning. It was scattered in the winds, & separate volumes are every now & then to be found in the book-sales here. I suppose of course you will be paid for it in Treasury notes. These are yet at a small depreciation. I have thought it probable that that might prevent you from offering them to me. I hope that will not be the case, & to prevent it I now mention to you that they will suit me perfectly, & if I were to have them soon I could make an arrangement by which they would answer me perfectly as bank notes, without the smallest loss.

This is about the time you expected Col^o. Monroe to be in Albemarle. I hope he will now terminate our affair, particularly as he seems to think his personal presence

necessary. The appearances are now, I am told, all in favor of his being the next President. He will then be less capable of attending to such a microscopic object as this. Correa, however, who has travelled & observed a great deal, says the next President will be from N. York, & he has fixed on Tomkins for that office. For my part I hope now our destiny will be a happy one, whoever may be the President, & feeling myself personally dead as to all such matters, I take very little interest in them.

I have been endeavoring all the winter to reason away my antipathy to the sea in order to avail myself of a very favorable occasion I now have of passing it, but I have a kind of *thalasse-phobia* that resists all kind of argument. It is like the antipathy which some people have to rats or cats, & I fear will be with me unconquerable until I shall feel myself too old to make it worth while to take the trouble. I do not like my poor vegetating situation which I hold here, but I do not know how to change it for the better. My friends all advise me to marry, but my taste is too fastidious, I believe, & my chance is worse every year; for old bachelors grow difficult in proportion as they are older & have less right to chuse.

God bless you, my dear Sir. May you long live to enjoy your sound philosophy, & be happy. Believe me your respectful & your affectionate friend,

W. SHORT.

GEORGE TICKNOR TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Thomas Jefferson, Esq., Monticello, Albermarle County, Virginia.

Boston, 21 March, 1815.

DEAR SIR, — I reached home yesterday morning after a tedious and, indeed, a perilous journey, and found that your kindness had anticipated the request I sent you from Philadelphia. I need not tell you how much I am indebted to you for the signal favour you have done me by

giving me the means of becoming acquainted with men so distinguished and so entirely of the class I should be most ambitious to know.

You judged rightly when you conjectured that the peace might first lead me to England. If I were to be governed only by my own inclinations, I should undoubtedly go first to Paris, the great mart of the science & literature of the world; but three friends* who are nearer to me than all the world besides, except my own family, are going to London, & I cannot resist the affectionate kindness which led them, before I had returned & without consulting me, to bespeak my passage in the same ship with themselves. I shall, however, remain there but a short time, and then cross over to the continent. In this way, I imagine, I can be more useful to you than on my original plan. I shall be long enough in London to purchase such books as can be best obtained there, and yet soon enough in Paris to purchase the remainder. On this subject, however, I shall wait your instructions. We shall leave this port about the 12th proximo, & of course a letter from Monticello will have full time to reach me before I sail; and even if it should arrive after I am gone, my father will immediately forward it to me in some one of the numerous vessels which will leave here in the course of April & May.

I shall observe your directions in relation to the letters which you have confided to me. As soon after I reach England as a suitable opportunity occurs, I will send them to France, probably to our minister there, reserving to myself, as a lawyer would say, *a lien* on their introductory contents, and a consequent claim to become acquainted with the persons to whom they are addressed.

As occasions or subjects may offer, I shall not fail to take advantage of the permission you have given me of

* Samuel G. Perkins, Edward Everett, and Nathaniel A. Haven, of Portsmouth, N. H. See Life, Letters, and Journals of George Ticknor, vol. i. p. 49. — Eds.

keeping for myself a place in your memory by addressing a few lines to you from amidst the literary society of Europe, and shall consider myself singularly fortunate if, by giving you early notice of the advance of science there, I may be able in any imperfect degree to express my gratitude for all the kindness you have shown me.

I cannot close a letter addressed to Monticello without recollecting & again acknowledging the hospitality I received there, and asking you to do me the favour to remember me particularly to all its inhabitants.

Your's very respectfully,

Mr. JEFFERSON.

GEO : TICKNOR.

N. B. My father's address is Mr. Elisha Ticknor, Boston, and any letters which you may do me the favour to send to me, either before I sail or after I am gone, will, if directed to him, reach me by the first opportunity, through Mr. Adams, our minister in Lond.

I enclose you the letter to Mr. Crawford, who, as you of course know, is on his return.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO WILLIAM SHORT.

MONTICELLO, May 15, 15.

DEAR SIR, — Your favor of the 3^d finds me just on my departure for Bedford, and I return you therefore the paper you inclosed me, without delay. To the fact of the want of time I will further add that no person on earth would more willingly than myself do whatever was within my power to reward with the honors they have merited our naval heroes, for the respect which their heroism has procured for our country, and for the humiliations they have inflicted on an insulting, a vindictive, and causeless enemy. But I never had that sort of poetical fancy which qualifies for allegorical devices, mottos, &c. Painters, poets, men of happy imagination can alone do these things

with taste. I must therefore refer it back to you for some one who will do justice to the subject. The re-revolution of France furnishes an additional element of calculation for the problem of your return to France. Adversity may have taught Bonaparte moderation ; but I apprehend that his temper & particular kink of insanity render him incapable of that. What a treat, indeed, would the conversation of Dupont be ! He must totally despair for his country, as I do. A military despotism is now, I fear, fixed on it permanently. Among the victims of his return to power, I contemplate but one with pleasure ; that is the Pope. The insult which he and the bigot of Spain have offered to the lights of the 19th century by the re-establishment of the Inquisition admits no forgiveness. How happily distant are we from the Bedlam of Europe.

Affectionately adieu.

TH. JEFFERSON.

MR. SHORT.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO CHARLES W. PEALE.

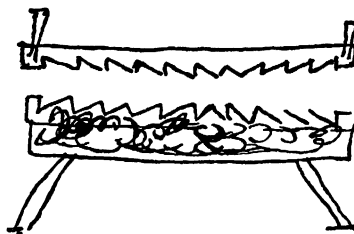
MONTICELLO, June 13, 15.

DEAR SIR, — In your favor of May 2 you ask my advice on the best mode of selling your Museum, on which, however, I really am not qualified to advise. This depends entirely on the genius and habits of those among whom you live, with which you are so much better acquainted. I wish first it may be disposed of the most to your advantage, and 2^{dly} that it may not be separated. If profit be regarded, the purchaser must keep it in Philadelphia, where alone the number and taste of the inhabitants can ensure it's maintenance. It will be yet some time (perhaps a month) before my workmen will be free to make the plough I shall send you. You will be at perfect liberty to use the form of the mouldboard, as all the world is, having never thought of monopolizing by patent

any useful idea which happens to offer itself to me; and the permission to do this is doing a great deal more harm than good. There is a late instance in this State of a rascal going thro' every part of it, and swindling the mill-owners, under a patent of 2 years old only, out of 20,000 D. for the use of winged-gudgeons which they have had in their mills for 20 years, every one preferring to pay 10 D. unjustly rather than be dragged into a Federal court 1, 2, or 300 miles distant.

I think the cornsheller you describe, with two cylinders, is exactly the one made in a neighboring county, where they are sold at 20 D. I propose to take some opportunity of seeing how it performs. The reason of the derangement of machines with wooden cylinders of any length is the springing of the timber, to which white oak has a peculiar disposition. For that reason we prefer pine as the least apt to spring. You once told me of what wood you made the bars of the pen-frame in the polygraph, as springing less than any other wood; & I have often wished to recollect it, but cannot. We give up here the cleaning of clover seed, because it comes up so much more certainly when sown in the husk; 7 bushels of which is more easily obtained for the acre than the 3 pints of clean seed which the sowing-box requires. We use the machine you describe for crushing corn-cobs, & for which Oliver Evans has obtained a patent, altho' to my knolege the same machine has been made by a smith in George town these 16 years for crushing plaister, and he made one for me 12 years ago, long before Evans's patent. The only difference is that he fixes his horizontally, and Evans vertically. Yet I chose to pay Evans's patent price for one rather than be involved in a lawsuit of 2 or 300 D. cost. We are now afraid to use our ploughs, every part of which has been patented, although used ever since the fabulous days of Ceres. On the subject of the Spinning Jenny, which I so much prefer to the

Arkwright machines, for simplicity, ease of repair, cheapness of material and work, your neighbor, Dr. Allison, of Burlington, has made a beautiful improvement by a very simple addition for the preparatory operation of roving. These are much the best machines for family & country use. For fulling in our families we use the simplest thing in the world. We make a bench of the widest plank we can get, say half a yard wide at least, of thick & heavy stuff. We cut notches cross wise of that 2 i. long & 1 i. deep; the perpendicular side of the notch fronting the middle one from both ends; on that we lay a 4 i. board, 6 f. long, with a pin for a handle in each end, and notched as the under one. A board is nailed on each side of the under one, to keep the upper in place as it is shoved backwards & forwards, and the cloth, properly moistened, is laid between them. 2 hands full 20 yards in two hours.



Our threshing machines are universally in England fixed with Dutch fans for winnowing, but not with us, because we thresh immediately after harvest, to prevent weevil, and were our grain then laid up in bulk without the chaff in it, it would heat & rot. Ever and affectionately yours,

TH: JEFFERSON.

C. W. PEALE.

WILLIAM SHORT TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Thomas Jefferson. Mail to Milton, V^a.

PHILADELPHIA, June 21, 15.

DEAR SIR, — I had the pleasure of writing to you early in the last month, & of informing you of the payment made to me here of the \$10,500 treasury notes. I sent

you at the same time a precise statement of our account up to that time, shewing that this payment left a balance due you of $\$34\frac{3}{100}$; which, conformably with your order, I paid to Mr Vaughan, of which he will, no doubt, have informed you. I requested you in my letter to direct me as to the bonds & the mortgage from you remaining in my hands, & which are now discharged. I did not venture to send them to you by mail without your authorization. In the mean time I have obliterated the several signatures, & shall await your orders. I fear now I shall not be able to comply with them immediately, as I shall probably have left the city before I shall hear from you, & these papers will be left among those of mine which cannot be got at during my absence; but on my return here in the fall I will follow the indication of your letter, which I hope to receive in the mean time. All letters which arrive here will be taken up & forwarded to me.

The last letter which I have had the pleasure of receiving from you was of the 18th of April. You were then expecting Monroe, & also going to Bedford. I see by the papers that Monroe has gone to Albemarle, but I fear the evil star of the business will have placed that trip during yours. If so, I hope Monroe will name some person to attend for him to the running of this line. I wish it were terminated, as much for your sake as mine; for I really am ashamed of all the trouble I give you.

You know that our new Blackstone financier has been making great efforts to raise public stocks & treasury notes. He has succeeded beyond expectation; 6 p^{cts} are now here a little below par, & treasury notes a little above. This varies with every city in the Union; at New York they are both below par; at Boston still more so. The price of exchange between this & N. York is now 5 p^{ct}.

Owing to the wise dispositions of our wise Congress in destroying the U. S. Bank, & allowing this hydra head

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to grow up manifold under the corruption of the State legislatures, there is really now no such thing as an uniform currency in the country. It varies in every State & in every city in the same State as much as in different countries & sovereignties. I see no remedy for this. The only practicable one (that of an U. S. bank, established on liberal principles on the condition of paying their notes in specie & obliging others to do the same) will be, I fear, prevented; first, by the administration exacting of such a bank a bonus to an amount that will disable them from paying specie; & secondly, by the members of Congress, or a majority of them, being interested in the multitude of miserable State & county banks, either having brothers as cashiers or presidents, or by having borrowed money from them. They will therefore reject an U. S. bank w^{ch} would devour this bastard progeny. When you talk to these gentlemen of a national bank, they have recourse to their pretended republican & constitutional objections, & thus claim a merit for following really a base & corrupt motive, that is, their personal interest in their country banks. Thus there is no uniformity in the value of any thing, or what ought to be the measure of every thing. A short time ago treasury notes were several p^{ct} under par, & I then disposed of them; they are now above par, but as I fortunately vested them in 6 p^{cts}, I do not lose by this operation.

Correa is now drawing to a close the course of botanical lectures he is giving us here. He intends in the next month to take Dupont & visit you & M^r Madison with him. You will, I am sure, derive great pleasure from these two good men & able, so well informed of what is passing in a country that must interest all the world.

I have the mortification to be receiving from time to time old letters from my friends that ought to have been here six & twelve months ago; they speak to me of their situation & of their happiness under the mild administra-

tion of L. 18. Poor people! how differently do they now feel whilst I am reading these letters. I rejoice at having not precipitated my return to France, which I certainly should have done but for my invincible aversion to the sea. I fear, if the war in Europe should extend itself as to time, that we shall be again involved. I do not suppose that our administration is mad enough or wicked enough to wish it, but it will grow out of the nature of things. If you have the weight which many insist on attributing to you, & w^{ch} I do not believe, pray exert it to ward off this direful event. Adieu to our Republican principles most certainly, & probably to our Republican government, should a war last here a few years, whether successful or disastrous. God bless you, my dear Sir, & believe me ever your friend & servant,

W. SHORT.

ELISHA TICKNOR* TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Thomas Jefferson, Esquire, Late President of the United States of America. Monticello, Virginia.

BOSTON, 7th Aug., 1815.

SIR,—Your letter of the 5th ultimo reached Boston in due season; but my absence on a long journey and detention by ill health are my only apology for not replying to it at an earlier period. Your “possessing my son for a short time” was really an honour to him as well as to me, and such an honour too as would gratify the feelings and pride of a parent who loves and esteems his son. I could not persuade myself to permit him to travel abroad, ’till he had first visited some parts of his

* Elisha Ticknor was born in Lebanon, Conn., March 25, 1757, and graduated at Dartmouth College, in 1783. In 1788 he became head master of the Franklin Grammar School in Boston. He subsequently resigned this position, and, engaging in business, took an active interest in public affairs. He died in Hanover, N. H., June 22, 1821. See Appleton’s *Cyclopædia of American Biography*, vol. vi. p. 111. — Eds.

own country; and, especially, 'till he had seen and known personally some of the worthies who have honoured and adorn'd it. I recommend'd to him, therefore, to apply to his and my friends in this town and neighbourhood to furnish him with such letters of introduction as would not only aid him in his preparations for Europe, but, with such as *out* of which would naturally grow such other credentials as would be extremely useful to him in his absence. On his return to his home, he gave me an account of his journey, and of the manner in which he had been from time to time received by his friends and strangers, and, that no part of his journey gratified *him*, and by his representation *me*, so much as the kindness and attention with which yourself and family were pleased to shew him while at Monticello, for which you will please to accept the grateful acknowledgments of his father. Permit *mé*, Sir, to add that, when in the course of conversation, between you and him alone, on his tour to Europe, you were pleas'd to observe to him that you were now an aged man (I believe seventy years old), that twenty-eight years ago you had many friends in Europe, that the ravages of time and the devastation of revolutions in that country might have carried away many of the ablest and best of your acquaintance who could be of any use to him, yet, to the remaining few you would with pleasure give him letters of introduction, provided he would give you a month's notice of his intention to depart,—this was an offer so great and so strongly mark'd with attention and kindness to a young stranger, going to a foreign country, and to *him* and to *me* INVALUABLE, that to express myself on this occasion as I ought is not in my power. I leave to you, Sir, who are able to imagine, what I ought to say and how I ought to feel, rather than to attempt to tell you either of them *myself*. All I ask is, that he may merit your confidence and approbation, and receive your blessing, and transact

your business as becomes a wise, judicious, and prudent young man.

Your letter shall be immediately forwarded with mine to his address in London; although it is possible he may now be in Holland, making his way to Göttingen, the place of his destination, through the difficulties and threatenings of Europe, as fast as he possibly can. His last letter was dated at London, the 30th May, where he was then preparing himself for the Continent. What will be his fate *there*, God only knows. I have been extremely solicitous about him ever since the renewal of hostilities; yet, he writes in good spirits and fine health, and appears to think there will be no danger, at least to Americans.

Any letter you may please to forward to me for him shall be immediately transmitted to his address, agreeably to your request; and, also, any business, Sir, which you may wish to have done in this part of the country, and which can be transacted by me, shall be done with the greatest exactness and care.

I am, Sir, with the greatest respect and consideration,

Your much obliged & very humble servant,

ELISHA TICKNOR.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, Esq.

Late President of the United States of America.

WILLIAM SHORT TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

BALLSTON SPA, Aug. 25, 15.

DEAR SIR, — Your kind letter of June 27 was in my absence taken up by my agent at Philadelphia & sent after me. I was then on a visit to the beautiful lake, called by the French *le lac du S^e Sacrament*, & by their successors Lake George. The French shewed their good taste in having chosen this to furnish them their holy water. Nothing can be more pure than it is. The fish

there are worthy of being admitted to the rank of ambrosia, as the water is to that of nectar. I am ashamed, however, to have been amusing myself in this picturesque spot, since I have learned that you were at that time laboring for me over precipices, rocks, & bushes. I hope at length, however, that this troublesome business is drawing to a close, and although with the prospect of its not being in a way favorable to me, yet I am glad it is to be ended & we are to know what to count on. The questionable line will be settled, but I little hope to see in my day the consequence of it settled & terminated; that is, the re-imbursement to me by M^r Carter. When I saw him at Philad^a a year or two ago, he told me he had found that Co^l Monroe owed him a balance about equal to this sum in question, & that he had, I think, proposed to him to let one go as a set-off against the other, but Monroe did not accept it, if he did not absolutely decline it. And it will take some time to put Carter off of this track. Until Monroe shall pay him he will probably not think of paying me. He will, as to this payment, act, I imagine, as a friend of mine was advised to act as to marrying; that is, not to think of it until he was forty years of age, & then not to marry at all. If the line is decided against me, will you be so good as to let me know how I should proceed as to M^r. Carter. He will probably offer me an order on Monroe, but I had rather have no claim of the sort against a friend. I suppose M^r Carter will make no difficulty as to this being an arbitration to which he was not a party, for he told me he had written or spoken to you to act altogether for him in this case, & of course will or ought to be satisfied with what is done under your eyes. As to M^r H's retaining the sum on his last payment to me, this is a thing of course, & I shall be perfectly satisfied with it. He has made all but his last payment, & that does not accrue until Decr. next. Let me once more express to you my real gratitude for all the trouble you have been

so good as to take in this business. I feel it as a weight on me, & particularly the fatigue to w^{ch} you must have been exposed on the 21st of June. To me who have become so corporeally indolent this is sensible to an uncommon degree. My weight has a good deal increased, it is true, but in no proportion to my indolence.

I have no doubt that you have long before this had the pleasure of seeing Correa & Dupont. You are persuaded, I hope, how much pleasure it would have given me to have assisted at your speculations. I have frequently in imagination placed myself among you. Our friend Correa got out of humour with the Allies, the Bourbons, &c., inso-much that they have almost reconciled him to Napoleon the 1st, & quite so to Nap. the 2^d. I do not know how Dupont stands, but, although dissatisfied evidently with the Bourbons, I do not suppose he can ever be brought to be reconciled to any thing of the blood of the Bonapartes. I anticipate much gratification in conversing with Correa after his return to Philad., where I shall be in the beginning of October. My present wish would be to go & pay my respects to you next summer. And as I find mineral waters always useful to my bilious habit I will in that case substitute the Virginia springs to the Ballston Spa. I am too variable to think of deciding absolutely on any thing so far ahead, but this is my present wish & hope.

Bonap. is so rapid in all his actions, ascending & descending, that he must have got ahead of all speculation. My hope is that he will not arrive in this country; or rather this is my wish. If I were to express my fears & opinions of what he might do, I am sure it would be thought an exaggerated vision. I therefore shall say nothing. I am one of those who think there is as much corruption in this country as any other. All things considered & under similar circumstances, things would pass here much as they do elsewhere. I have long

thought so & have long been laughed at for this opinion. Some things have happened which have confirmed me in my opinion, & particularly the Baltimore mob & massacre in the prisons; a similar event in Paris has been always considered one of the foulest deeds of the French revolution; that at Baltimore was on a par with it & under much less cause of excitement. Thus give the same excitement in this country & I say you will have to the same degree any thing that has occurred in other countries. This I dare say would not be considered an American sentiment, but I cannot help thinking Americans much like other men. Whatever they may be, better or worse than I believe them, it has no influence on my real respect, gratitude, & friendship for you, w^{ch} must be ever invariable & would, I can assure you, my dear Sir, survive our Republican institutions if destined to be overthrown in my day.

Yours ever & affectionately,

W. SHORT.

WILLIAM SHORT TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

PHILAD^a, Jan. 5, -16.

DEAR SIR, — In the course of the last summer I had the pleasure of receiving a letter from you in which you were so good as to mark the progress that the land affair had made towards a final termination. You then thought it was inevitable in the course of the autumn succeeding. And although appearances so far were not favorable to me, yet I wished the point to be settled on several accounts. Having not heard from you, when I learned from a sister of M^{rs} Carter, who resides here, that she was then expecting a visit from M^r & M^{rs} Carter, I was particularly anxious to know if possible, the result before M^r Carter should leave Philadelphia. I therefore took the liberty of writing to you on the 21st of Nov. last.

I have not since had the pleasure of hearing from you. I at first thought you might be in Bedford, but so much time has now elapsed, that I am inclined to think either that my letter must have miscarried on the way, or that that lot has fallen on yours. In the meantime, fortunately, M^r Carter's arrival has been postponed. M^{rs} Izard is still expecting him daily, as she tells me, though she has not heard from him or her sister for a very long time, which does not surprize her, as they seldom write. It is this aversion to writing of our countrymen which makes me anxious to be able to treat of this affair with M^r Carter *viva voce*, & if possible settle it with him. As relates to M^r Higginbotham, also, it is important for me to know how I stand; his last payment became due on the 25th ult^o, but he has said nothing to me respecting it. When he does, it will be necessary for me to know what sum precisely I am to deduct, on the principle w^{ch} you mentioned to me.

Notwithstanding this urgency of the case I do not believe I should have again troubled you at this moment but for a letter I have lately received from a person in France, of whom I think you formerly entertained a very favorable opinion, & who, I am sure, still deserves it. It is M. de la Motte, formerly our vice-consul at Hâvre. It has been a very long time since I have had sign of life from him, and his letter explains this by informing me he had purchased a farm in the country, to which he had retired for many years as a gentleman farmer. He has now returned to Havre in consequence of the peace, & resumed his commercial pursuits. He is anxious to have his former appointment, & has written to M. Monroe, on the subject, but has had no answer from him. This he attributes to a person at Paris who, he thinks, is opposed to him, & may have counteracted him, wishing the place himself. I should doubt this, & I impute Monroe's silence to his multifarious occupations, in which this *mini-*

mum of de la Motte has been lost sight of. If you think with me that, in consequence of de la Motte's long & honest services in this place, there would be a degree of injustice in pushing him out of it, & if you think, as I do, that he would really be more useful there than any other, & if moreover, as I hope, you have not any repugnance to give your opinion either to Monroe or Mr Madison, I wish, indeed, you would do so, & procure this act of justice for a man who was always really devoted to you & to the country w^{ch} employed him. If you do not wish it he shall never know that you took this step, nor shall any other know. I am sure that in a case of this nature one word from you would suffice to secure a measure of good policy, & rigorous justice to a man whom you have long known & valued, as I believe.

In looking over some papers a few days ago I was surprised to find that I was still in possession of your bonds & mortgage. I had quite forgotten them. I find that I had taken occasion to obliterate their signature, so that no inconvenience could have ensued if I had died, but still I had rather they should be returned into your hands where they ought in regularity to have been some time ago. It was certainly my intention to have written to you to ask your authorization to send them by mail, or dispose of them in any other way, so that you should have them,— & I think I must have written to that effect at the time, — but if I did I have not rec^d an answer as to that article. I will thank you now to say how I may comply with your wishes on this head.

I am glad to hear that the price of one of the staples of Virginia has so risen as to introduce much prosperity into that State, & I hope Mr Higginbotham will be still more pleased with his purchase. Being satisfied myself, I am always glad when those with whom I deal find themselves satisfied also.

I was extremely anxious, as you may have perceived,

as to the state of things in this country during the war. According to my view still, we were on a precipice, or rather near a rock, w^{ch} was the more dangerous to the vessel of State that the pilots, ignorant in most respects of this kind of navigation, were absolutely blind as to this particular danger. I own that my indignation as to their ignorance & stupidity was often raised to a degree that was very near making me break my resolution long ago made of never entering the public papers as an anonymous author. Things have now passed over. I should probably have done no good, & should have vexed & mortified myself to no purpose. I can now say, & have no doubt I shall be able to say at the day of my death, that I have never inserted or contributed in any way to an anonymous article in the vile & dirty nuisances of public newspapers. I am now reconciled in heart & spirit to those whom we have put in authority over us, & who have done us so much mischief, but who finally have at least not opposed the greatest good, peace; &, indeed, may be said to have given it to us; as we have it, & they could certainly have withheld it. Our great danger now lies in the Treasury. Every thing is unsound, & without experience or knowlege there. How is it possible to place confidence there under its present director? We, the profane vulgar, know only that he left a most lucrative practise here, that he was always a needy man from his expensive habits, hospitable & apparently generous in the extreme, his house was by far the most expensive in this city; &, notwithstanding he had a numerous family, & was a fond & excellent father, he could not resist his inducements to expense, in order to save a part of his earnings for this family, who w^d have been destitute had they lost him; at least this was the general opinion. Now, vanity as well as hospitality will combine to add to all his expenses, & I have no doubt it will be seen that his expenses far exceed any Minister who has resided at

Washington, & probably those of the President himself. I judge so from the character of the man. Now, where are these expenses to come from, unless it be from the want of fixity in our finances, which is the best state for enabling one behind the curtain to speculate to great & mammoth advantage, as they now are & are likely to be under proper management to this effect, for some time to come. The income of this gentleman was here from 15 to 20,000 dolls p. ann. This is abandoned by a man *qui a un besoin de depense*, for ostensibly 5,000 doll^s p. ann, with additional excitements to expense. But he is a thorough going Republican, he is a perfect democrat. This is the saving mantle for every thing. This ought to inspire confidence, for sure no politician at Rome or at Paris who professed this religion ever did it without remaining always true to the love of country, the purity of principle, & an absolute *abnegation de soi meme*. I have no doubt, with this lever, he will find the means of moving his party, who certainly form the majority, & of course can do no wrong. It is a strange perversion w^{ch} should have made M^r M. get rid of Gallatin & send him abroad, where most particularly our national pride, if not our national character, should have prohibited our sending him, & thus lose his talents, after he had acquired a sufficient degree of wealth to enable him to think alone of the public good, & substitute a man of inferior talents unquestionably, & one who could not, from his circumstances, if he were so disposed, confine himself to study this good alone. God bless you, my dear Sir, & believe me ever your friend & servant,

W. SHORT.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO THOMAS W. MAURY.

MONTICELLO, Jan. 27, 16.

DEAR SIR, — I am favored with yours of the 17th. Mr. Cabell had apprised me of the objections to the power of imprisonment given to a functionary of our college, and having explained to him the reason of it I must refer you to him for a sight of my letter.* The object seems to have been totally mistaken, and what was intended in tenderness to the pupil has been misconstrued into an act of severity; for every one knows they may now be sent by a common magistrate to the common prison for a breach of the peace. With respect to the bank-mania, I foresaw it in 1791, and then opposed the establishment of the Bank of the U. S., which I knew was only an inoculation. I have marked the progress of the disease and seen that it was incurable and to end in death. There will be a vast crush of private fortunes, as on the death of the old Continental paper, as of the Assignats of France, the Misipi paper of Law, the South-sea paper of England, &c. The most pitiable of it's victims now as before will be the helpless widow & orphan. Prudent men will mitigate it's effects by caution. They will protect themselves as they do their fences when the woods are afire, by firing against it. What is most blameable is the cruelty of your process, roasting us before a slow fire like the martyrs in the days of persecution. Instead of your 15 banks, be merciful, and give us the coup de grace, make it a thousand. However, I am perfectly content with the 15, and to meet all hazards and trials with my fellow-citizens. If we keep together we shall be safe, and when error is so apparent as to become visible to the majority, they will correct it, and what we suffer during

* The letter to Mr. Cabell is printed in Washington's edition of the Writings of Thomas Jefferson, vol. vi. pp. 537, 538. — Eds.

the error must be carried to account with the losses by tempests, earthquakes, &c.

Yours with great friendship,

TH : JEFFERSON.

THOMAS W. MAURY, Esq.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO STEPHEN CATHALAN.*

MONTICELLO, Feb. 1, 1816.

MY DEAR SIR AND FRIEND, — I recieved yesterday your favor of Nov. 29, from which I learn with much mortification (of the palate at least) that my letter of the 3^d of July has never got to your hands. It was confided to the Secretary of State's office. Regrets are now useless, and the proper object to supply it's place. It related generally to things friendly, to things political, &c., but the material part was a request of some particular wines which were therein specified.

1. White Hermitage of the growth of M. Jourdan ; not of the dry kind, but what we call silky, which in your letter just recieved you say are called doux. But by our term *silky* we do not mean *sweet*, but sweetish in the smallest degree only. My taste in this is the reverse of Mr. Butler's, who you say likes the dry and sparkling, I the non mousseux & un peu doucereux.

2. Vin de Nice, as nearly as possible of the quality of that sent me by Mr. Sasserno formerly, whose death, by the bye, I had not before heard of, and much regret.

3. Vin de Roussilon. I used to meet with this at the best tables of Paris, where it was drank after the repast, as a vin de liqueur. It was a little higher colored than Madeira, near as strong and dry, and of fine flavor. I am not certain of the particular name, but that of Rivesalte

* Stephen Cathalan was for a very long time consul of the United States at Marseilles, and a business correspondent of Jefferson. — Eds.

runs in my head. If, from what you know of the Rive-salte it should answer this description nearly, then we may be sure this was the wine; if it does not, you will probably be able to know what wine of Roussilon corresponds with the qualities I describe.

I requested that after paying for 50^{lb} of macaroni out of the 200 dollars, and reserving what would pay all charges till shipped, about a fifth of the residue should be laid out in Hermitage, and the remaining four fifths in Vins de Nice [and?] Roussillon equally. Send to any port from Boston to the Chesapeak inclusive, but to Norfolk or Richmond of preference, if a conveyance occurs. If addressed to the Collector of the Port, he will receive & forward them to Richmond, which is at the head of the tidewater of James River on which I live, and from whence it comes by boat navigation. I suppose you can never be long without vessels at Marseilles bound to some of our ports above described. Were it to be otherwise the wines might come thro' the canal of Languedoc to Mr. Lee, our consul at Bordeaux, but this would increase risk and expence, & is only mentioned as a *pis-aller*, and left entirely to your judgement.

The political speculations of my letter of July 3 are not worth repeating because the events on which they were hazarded have changed backwards & forwards, two or three times since that. My wishes are for the happiness of France, without caring what executive magistrate makes her happy. I must confess, however, I did not wish it to be Bonaparte. I considered him as the very worst of all human beings, & as having inflicted more misery on mankind than any other who had ever lived. I was very unwilling that the example of his parricide usurpation should finally stand approved by success. He is now off the scene, I hope never to return on it; but whether you are much more at your ease in the hands of the allies, you know better than I do. On the subject of

your continuance in the consulate, I hope you will never have any thing to fear; never, certainly whilst any effort of mine can have any weight with the government; and in a late letter to the Secretary of State, wherein I had occasion to speak of you, I have placed your merits on ground which I think will never be assailed. God bless you and preserve you many years in health and prosperity.

TH: JEFFERSON.

M. CATHALAN.

MARY B. BRIGGS* TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

WILMINGTON, Del, 3rd moth 7th, 1816.

ALTHOUGH personally unacquainted, I have, from my infancy, been taught to love and revere Thomas Jefferson. Those sentiments were early implanted in my mind by my father, who *ever* felt for him the most high respect and affectionate esteem; and now, when I hear from that beloved & excellent father of the renewed instances of the generous goodness we have admired, and when every grateful feeling is excited to enthusiasm in my mind, I cannot deny myself the pleasure of offering, with my father's, *my* thanks. Wilt thou accept, dear, *kind* friend, the artless but sincere offering of one who *knows* herself capable of *feeling*, but regrets her total inability to make thee sensible of the *fervor* of those feelings by *any* expressions; the *simple* assurance of my grateful sense of obligation is *all* I can offer. May this be accepted? "Had it not been for his kindness," says my father in his letter, "I could not have sent Anna & Mary to Weston School." I *feel* the obligation particularly. Oh! that I could suitably acknowledge it; but now let me again assure thee, on the behalf of a large family and myself, that if our

* Daughter of Isaac Briggs, who had long been a friend and correspondent of Jefferson. By profession he was a surveyor, and was often indebted to Jefferson's good offices. In the following year he was appointed a surveyor on the Erie Canal. — EDS.

prayers to Him who is able to bestow every blessing on the deserving, and which will be preferred in the sincerity of our hearts, if they are heard and granted, the happiness of Thomas Jefferson will be so great in this life as to be capable of *little* addition in that which is to come.

I would ask thee to excuse my freedom of style, but that I believe one *more* studied would be *less* acceptable.

I know that freedom & friendship are synonymous, and where I feel the latter I cannot divest myself of the former.

With sentiments of the most respectful esteem and high consideration, I shall ever be thy friend,

MARY B. BRIGGS.

GEORGE TICKNOR TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.*

GÖTTINGEN, March 15, 1816.

DEAR SIR, — I have already in my letter from London, and in the letters I have written you from here, Oct. 14, Oct. 30, and Novem. 25, told you of so many changes in my plans that, if I were not sure that you will appreciate my reasons, I should be almost ashamed to write you now to tell you of another. The truth, however, is, that I find Göttingen so entirely suited to my purposes, the opportunities and means and inducements to pursue those studies to which I mean to devote my life are so admirable here, that I have determined to protract my stay in Europe in order to enjoy them a year longer. To this resolution I came on the 27 Jan., in consequence of letters received the day before from home; and as I of course at

* Unlike the other letters from Mr. Ticknor in the Jefferson Papers, this letter, which fills four pages in the writer's very neat and characteristic hand, is a press copy on thin paper, and has evidently been torn from a Letter Book of the kind in ordinary use for taking copies by pressure. The paper has the water-mark, "Prepared Copying Paper. J. Watt & Co. Soho. Staffordshire." Several creases would seem to indicate that the letter was folded at two different times in different ways; and it seems not unlikely that Mr. Ticknor retained the original, and sent the press copy to Jefferson, through the hands of Mr. Elisha Ticknor. — Eds.

the same time determined to defer my visit to France a year longer, I immediately made arrangements for the purchase of your books in Paris. I could have easily effected this by a literary friend of mine there, but as I knew Mr. Warden's personal respect for you, and as you had told me that he is "an excellent bibliograph," I wrote to him on the same 27th of Jan^y, desiring him to procure them. A few days since I received his answer of Feb. 12, in which he very willingly promised to undertake it. To-day I have received your favor of Jan. 12, and have instantly written to him and given him your supplement to your catalogue. I hope these arrangements will meet your approbation, and I think they will, as they are the best I could make, though I should much have preferred to purchase them myself, because it is the only opportunity I may ever have of returning you the many obligations you have conferred on me. This I could have done to great advantage in Holland, where the general poverty and the failing spirit of literature has made the classicks disgracefully cheap; but then your list was not received, or even made out. In Germany I have thought it best to do nothing, for the strong spirit of recovered independence, tho' not freedom, and the perpetual literary labour of the learned make those old editions of the classicks which you desire very rare, and from 120 to 150 per cent. higher than in Holland, and probably 50 or 60 higher than in Paris. If, however, you should like to have any of the recent editions, which have given a new and more philosophical and acute character to the study of antiquity, Germany and Göttingen will best afford them; or if a year hence you should need anything from France or Italy, I shall eagerly seize the opportunity to procure it, and can safely forward it to you, as I am continually sending books to America.

The letters, however, which your kindness gave me, have embarrassed me much more than the commission for

the books. I have already told you that immediately on my arrival here, I sent the one for the Baron de Moll directly to him by one of the professors, and since then I have returned you the one for Mons. de Nemours, as he is already in the U. S. I could easily send the others to France, but La Fayette and Kosciuzco are no longer there, and I can neither procure Mons. Say's address, or even ascertain in what quarter of the world he is. They, therefore, still remain with me, waiting for favourable circumstances.

The longer I have continued here, the better I have been satisfied with my situation, and the more reasons and inducements I have found to protract my residence. The state of society is, indeed, poor; but the means and opportunities for pursuing the study of the languages — particularly the ancient — are, I am persuaded, entirely unrivalled. As I have already written you in my long letter on German literature, I was told even in England, and by Dr Parr, England's best and perhaps vainest classical scholar, that Germany was farther advanced in the study of antiquity than any other nation. This I find to be true. The men of letters here bring a philosophical spirit to the labour of exposition which is wanting in the same class in all other countries. The consequence is that the study of the classicks has taken a new and more free turn within the last forty years, and Germany now leaves England at least twenty years behind in the course where before it always stood first. This has been chiefly effected by the constitution of their universities, where the professors are kept perpetually in a grinding state of excitement and emulation, and by the constitution of their literary society generally, which admits no man to its honours who has not written a good book. The consequence, to be sure, is that the professors are more envious and jealous of each other than can be well imagined by one who has not been actually within the atmosphere of

their spleen, and that more bad and indifferent books are printed than in any country in the world; but then the converse of both is true, and they have more learned professors and authors at this moment than England & France put together.

I would gladly hope that the favour of your correspondence may be continued to me from time to time, even after the commission for your books has been executed. If you feel any interest in the state of literature in Germany, which has sprung forth in the last thirty years as unbidden and as perfect as the miraculous harvest of Jason, I can be able to give you occasionally pleasant information; and when I reach France I shall be able to write to you from the midst of your old friends, and from a place associated in your imagination with very many interesting, though perhaps not always pleasant, recollections. If these slight inducements are sufficient, with your own kindness, to procure me the favour of an occasional letter, I shall feel myself under new obligations to you. I shall also feel it as a great favour if you will give me your opinion on the prospects of learning in the U. S. and the best means of promoting it,—a subject which now occupies much of my attention.

I pray you to remember me very respectfully and gratefully to your family.

Your obliged & obed^t ser^t.

GEO: TICKNOR.

Letters to me, I believe, will continue to come more safely and quickly through the hands of my father.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO MARY B. BRIGGS.

April 17, 16.

I THANK you, my excellent young friend, for your kind letter of Mar. 7. The heart must be of uncommon sensi-

bility which feels so strongly slight degrees of merit in others. If I have ever been useful to your father, it was by doing what was much more useful to the public for whom I acted, by availing them of the services of a faithful and able citizen. It is not, then, to me you are indebted, but to his worth and science which marked him for notice. Mine was but an act of duty, which, like the payment of a debt, has no merit to claim; and I feel myself fully remunerated by its having been the means of introducing to me the knowledge of an amiable daughter, inheriting the kind heart of her father, copying, in the age of the passions, the virtues of a model tested by time and experience. Go on, then, my worthy friend, in this career of excellence, and be strong in the assurance given by an inspired pen, "I have been young, and now I am old, and yet never saw I the righteous forsaken, or his seed begging their bread." And if the prayers of an old man can be of any avail, you shall ever have mine most ardently. Accept my friendly salutations.

TH : JEFFERSON.

Miss MARY B. BRIGGS.

WILLIAM THORNTON* TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

CITY OF WASHINGTON, 9th June, 1816.

DEAR SIR, — I have received your very friendly letter, & I really feel ashamed at putting you to the necessity of writing for the paintings you were so kind as to lend me to copy; but still more so to offer any apology for not immediately sending them: however, I must do it, for they are yet here. The head by Stewart I really think one of the finest I ever saw, & having commenced it, I was in

* William Thornton was a native of the West Indies, and was educated as a physician. He was placed at the head of the Patent Office in 1802, and continued in that position until his death in 1827. Besides his other accomplishments he was a skilled architect; and he planned the first capitol at Washington, and superintended the early part of its construction. See Appleton's Cyclopædia of American Biography, vol. vi. pp. 104, 105. — Eds.

hopes of finishing it before the departure of the President & his lady, & of sending it by them or Mr. Todd; but my public duties are so oppressive, in consequence of the long sickness and inability of my clerk to render me any aid, that I have not finished it, and after keeping it so long I should feel like a sinner for leaving the work undone, and I mean to dedicate every spare moment to it till I make it worthy of the original, if possible. I should be very sorry to delay the work of Mr. Delaplaine; but in his return, if he will favor me with his company, he can make a copy of it here before it be sent back, and examine mine. I hope to be able to get it modelled hereafter, & it is, therefore, necessary to equal the original, if possible. I shall afterwards seek for such an opportunity of sending them as will ensure their safety.

We had not the pleasure of seeing your charming & accomplished grand daughter in her return. I know that she had made several conquests before she left Washington, & if she keep a list of the dying & wounded I query whether she will not soon equal Gen^l Jackson's. She is very much admired, & very much beloved, — she could not be otherwise, being handsome, accomplished, & very amiable.

I am, dear Sir,

with the highest respect, consideration, & esteem,

Yours very sincerely, &c.

WILLIAM THORNTON.

Hon^{ble} THOMAS JEFFERSON.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO JOSEPH STORY.*

MONTICELLO, June 19, 16.

I THANK you, dear Sir, for the eulogy of Mr. Dexter, which you have been so kind as to send me, and I sub-

* Joseph Story, one of the most eminent jurists this country has produced, was born in Marblehead, Mass., Sept. 18, 1779, and died in Cambridge Sept. 10, 1845. In November, 1811, when little more than thirty-two, he was made an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. See Story's Life and Letters of Joseph Story. — Eds.

scribe with sincerity to the testimonies it bears of his merits.* No one rendered more justice to his virtues & talents than myself; and if, in political matters we entertained some differences of opinion, they were on both sides the result of honest conviction, and held by both as inoffensive as differences of feature. His loss was a real affliction to the friends of our Union, & especially at a crisis when a successor was in question to the important magistracy for which he was proposed. I am fond, however, of believing that the majority with you will still return to the sacred principle of fidelity to the Union, and will see in the duties which he would have inculcated their own most important interests. Accept the assurance of my great esteem and respect.

TH: JEFFERSON.

The honble. JUDGE STORY.

WILLIAM SHORT TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

PHILADELPHIA, July 18, 16.

DEAR SIR,— Your favor of May 5 is the last I have had the pleasure of receiving from you. It crossed on the road one I wrote to you of May 7. This last was to inclose to you, as agreed on with M^r Higginbotham, his mortgage & last bond. I hope & take for granted they were received by you, & that M^r H. has disposed of them to his satisfaction. I am the more certain of this, as he would certainly have written to me on the subject had he not received them. This terminates the affair between M^r H. & me. I wish I could say the same of M^r Carter. I always apprehended delay & difficulty with him, & in this I am not disappointed. To my first letter he sent an answer after so long a delay that I had despaired of it,

* The eulogy referred to was a Sketch of the Life of Samuel Dexter, LL.D., by Judge Story, "delivered to the Grand Jurors of the District of Massachusetts, and to the members of the Suffolk Bar, at the Opening of the Court in Boston, May 15, 1816." — Eds.

expressive in general terms of his good disposition. I then wrote to him to state the acc^t as I understood it with the interest at 5 p^{ct}., & requested him if he found it accurate to send me a bond or some specialty for it. To this I got no answer; after waiting a month I wrote a second time, on the 1st inst. To this I have no answer either, & now I do not expect one. So that I have got already to a *non plus*. I did not apprehend so much difficulty in getting a bond or written promise. I thought that would come at the time of realizing the paper. I know not how I am to procure from him this specialty. He seems fully aware of the advantage of withholding it. To pay 5 p^{ct} on the simple sum is of course much better than 6 p^{ct} on the compound sum of principal & interest.

Some time ago M. de Grouchy told me he was going with his friend Gen^l Clausel to make you a visit at Monticello, & requested me, if I should write to you, to mention it. I learned at that time from M. Correa that you were in Bedford, and this I mentioned to Grouchy. He is, as you know, the brother of M^{de} de Condorcet. I did not understand from him whether his visit was grounded on her former acquaintance with you, or whether he had a letter from Lafayette, with whom he is intimate, or whether he went on the principle generally of paying respect to you. The French, you know, form to themselves duties of this kind. I have been also requested by a person of a perfectly opposite character to mention to you, when I should write, that it had been his intention, when he lately waited on the President at Montpellier, to have extended his visit to Monticello in order to pay his respects to you, but he learned at M^r M's that you were not at home. It is his intention, however, to do himself that honor on some future occasion. This is M. Hide de Neuville, the new French minister. He & poor Grouchy are in very different situations, but each has had his vicissitudes. Neuville is also a mem-

ber of the House of Deputies & represented as one of the ultra Royalist party. Political or party spirit may blind him to a certain degree, but his heart is most excellent.

I have kept for *la bonne bouche* to inform you that Correa & D^r Wistar purpose going together to visit you during this summer. The former, as you know of course, is entering the diplomatic career. He was giving us a course of botanical lectures when the information was first recieved here. He did not abandon it, but has now just finished the course. His translation to Washington will be a real loss to us inhabitants of Philadelphia. Still, we joy in his joy.

I am really sorry to learn that you are so much overwhelmed & obliged to be anchored to a writing-table. You are certainly entitled to "the softest pillow for the head of old age." I was far from wishing to throw you again into "the furnace of politics." I thought that the tracing your own memoirs might be a soothing labor, & a most valuable legacy to your country, peculiarly useful & instructive to those who from the nature of things must always, at least during the present constitution, govern this country. I mean the organs of the democratic party. If your own experience has induced you to change or modify any of your political opinions, — & it is the wise man particularly who is enlightened by experience, — you might leave this as a legacy to your successors. For instance, if you think it a dangerous policy to admit foreigners into our *political* rights, if you think it would increase the love & pride of country to make birth the sole & exclusive door of entry into this sanctuary, if you think that this Republic may be, as Rome was, lost by this kind of bastard amalgamation, your voice & solemn warning would, I think, be listened to. You are now beyond the power of party influence, & it would therefore respect you. But already such is the power & influence of foreign editors in this country that

no man who is a candidate for popular favor can advise a reformation with impunity. See what has happened to Crawford. I know nothing of the man, — I never saw him ; but it is evident that he is lost by the mere hint that he gave, which indeed was done in a very unnecessary manner. The ideas that I recollect to have read in your Notes on Virginia appear to me to be perfect on that subject. (I have lost my copy of this work. If you have one to spare I will be much obliged to you for it.) There are other changes that are desirable in our constitution. It is impossible that your experience should not have discovered some, I should think ; & I think a recommendation from you, either given now or left as a legacy, would be listened to with pleasure & certainly with profit. The idea of having been useful to your country not only during your whole life, but to continue to be so after your death, must be a motive worthy of you. However, I will urge nothing more, being persuaded that whatever you may do in this behalf will be rightly done.

What I have asked, I asked for your country's sake ; one thing more I will ask for your sake. I know your sentiments on the infamous traffic in human flesh ; many others know them also, but there are some who do not, & all know you inhabit a slave State & are an owner of slaves, which the candid will acknowledge to be the unavoidable lot of an inhabitant of such a State. Congress have taken some steps towards the preventing their subjects from being involved in this foul traffic, but experience shews it is not sufficient. I could wish you would in some public way urge on them the rooting out this infamous evil. There are scoundrels living in Rhode Island particularly, who openly carry it on & make so much the more profit that many are prevented from engaging in it. Adieu, my dear Sir. God bless & preserve you.

Believe me ever & forever your friend,

W. SHORT.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO WILLIAM THORNTON.

MONTICELLO, July 27, 16.

DEAR SIR, — Your favor of the 20th is recieved, and I take up my pen merely to assure you I had not mentioned the return of the paintings from any hurry to recieve them, but merely to make known a safe occasion of sending them, if done with. I thank you for the offer to place a copy of one of them here in oil, but Stewart's original takes as much room on the walls as the thing is worth. With respect to the merit of Otis's painting* I am not qualified to say any thing, for this is a case where the precept of "know thyself" does not apply. The ladies from the studies of their looking glasses may be good judges of their own faces; but we see ours only under a mask of soap-suds and the scrapings of the razor.

Accept always the assurance of my great esteem & respect.

TH: JEFFERSON.

DR. THORNTON.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO CHARLES PINCKNEY.

MONTICELLO, Sep. 3, 16.

DEAR SIR, — Your favor of August has been duly recieved, with the pamphlet it covered.† Col^o. Monroe happened to be at his seat adjoining me, and to dine with me the day I recieved it. I thought I could not make better use of it than by putting it into his hands, to

* Bass Otis painted a portrait of Jefferson, which was engraved for Joseph Delaplaine's Portrait Gallery. — Eds.

† The reference is to a pamphlet of fifty-two octavo pages published by Charles Pinckney in 1816, under the title of "Observations to shew the Propriety of the Nomination of Colonel James Monroe, to the Presidency of the United States by the Caucus at Washington. In which a full answer is given to the pamphlet entitled 'Exposition of the motives for opposing the nomination of Mr. Monroe as President of the United States.' By a South-Carolinian." It is a vigorous defence of the public life of Mr. Monroe, and strongly advocated his nomination. — Eds.

let him know his friends. You say nothing in your letter of your health, which, after so long an interval, cannot but be interesting to a friend. I hope it continues firm. As for myself, I weaken very sensibly, yet with such a continuance of good health as makes me fear I shall wear out very tediously, which is not what one would wish. I see no comfort in outliving one's friends, and remaining a mere monument of the times which are past. I withdraw myself as much as possible from politics, and gladly shelter myself under the wings of the generation for which, in our day, we have labored faithfully to provide shelter.

Your's with continued friendship & respect,

TH: JEFFERSON.

CHARLES PINCKNEY, Esq.

ELISHA TICKNOR TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Honourable Thomas Jefferson, Monticello, Virginia.

Boston, 22^d Octo., 1816.

SIR, — Your favour of the 15th August last reach'd Boston in my absence, on a long journey in the country. I returned two days ago and found your letter, which informs me that my son is "about sending me out books," and at the same time will forward "a parcel" to me to be forwarded to you. These books have not yet arrived, and since he has resolved to continue another year in Göttingen I have supposed he would be a little more tardy in collecting books for himself than he otherwise would have been. But I am sure he wont fail exactly and punctually (if possible) to execute your orders agreeably to your wishes. It has, in my absence, been rumoured that your *books* and *his* were ship'd on board the Brig Abeona at Hamburg. I did not on hearing it believe it was true. This vessel, as probably you have heard, was lost soon

after she left Hamburg. The letters from my son have in no instance, from the 1st Jan^y last to the 6th July, stated to me his intentions of sending out books, 'till after he had visited many of the principal cities in Germany and attended some of the Book-Fairs, at which he had made strong calculations to be able to furnish himself with such books as he wanted for his own library, as well as execute the orders of his friends. After thus premising, I have two strong circumstances to induce me to believe that neither your books nor his were on board the Abeona at the time she was lost : viz., 1st, those merchants of this town who had goods on board have received their invoices. I have received none. 2^d, A M^r Clark, a young merchant of this town also, who had ship'd at Hamburg personally many goods on board the Abeona, call'd on me yesterday to inform me that on his way from Hamburg to Paris he stopt a few hours at Göttingen and call'd on my son, who was well about the 8th August. I inquired of him very particularly whether my son had shipt merchandize of any kind on board the Abeona. He informed me he was confident he had not, as he was much with his commission merchant, as well as with the captain of the vessel. I think, therefore, we may fairly conclude that no loss has happened either to yourself or to my son. When the books arrive, you may rely on my strictest attention to your orders, than which nothing will give me more pleasure than to serve the father and friend of my country. Sir, the following lines in your letter give me much courage and satisfaction : "The account he gives me of the German literature is very interesting, and such as I had not been before apprised of. It seems well worthy of his avail, and he is accordingly sowing the seed of what, with his genius and industry, will yield a rich harvest." Such lines and opinion, Sir, considering the source whence they came, his experience and age, his judgment and foresight, console and calm the heart of a

father who, at times, has almost regretted the enterprise he suffered his son to undertake. Please to accept, Sir, for the confidence you have reposed in him, the thanks and highest consideration of

Your most obedient

And very humble servant,

ELISHA TICKNOR.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO NOAH WORCESTER.*

Nov. 26, 17.

SIR, — You have not been mistaken in supposing my views and feelings to be in favor of the abolition of war. Of my disposition to maintain peace until it's condition shall be made less tolerable than that of war itself, the world has had proofs, and more, perhaps, than it has approved. I hope it is practicable, by improving the mind & morals of society, to lessen the disposition to war; but of it's abolition I despair. Still, on the axiom that a less degree of evil is preferable to a greater, no means should be neglected which may add weight to the better scale. The enrollment you propose, therefore, of my name in the records of your society cannot be unacceptable to me. It will be a true testimony of my principles and persuasion that the state of peace is that which most improves the manners and morals, the prosperity and happiness of mankind; and altho' I dare not promise myself that it can be perpetually maintained, yet if, by the inculcations of reason or religion, the perversities of

* Rev. Dr. Noah Worcester, now best known for his advocacy of peace between nations, and as the first Secretary of the Massachusetts Peace Society, was born in Hollis, N. H., Nov. 25, 1758, and died in Brighton, Mass., Oct. 31, 1837. During the Revolution he served for a time in the army as a fifer, and was present at the battles of Bunker Hill and Bennington. Subsequently he taught school, and afterward entered the ministry, and for fifteen years he was minister of a church in Thornton, N. H. He had been brought up as a Trinitarian, but previous to his removal to Brighton, in 1813, he became an avowed Unitarian. He was a voluminous writer on religious and philanthropic themes. See Ware's *Memoirs of the Rev. Noah Worcester*, D.D. — Eds.

our nature can be so far corrected as sometimes to prevent the necessity, either supposed or real, of an appeal to the blinder scourges of war, murder, & devastation, the benevolent endeavors of the friends of peace will not be entirely without remuneration. I pray you to accept the assurance of my respect & consideration.

TH: JEFFERSON.

MR. NOAH WORCESTER, Brighton, Mass.

JOHN VAUGHAN TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

PHILAD., 22 Jany., 1818.

Ev^g 9 o'clock.

D. SIR, — The friend of man & of science, our invaluable friend is no more; within an hour he has been taken from us.* The loss of D. Wistar leaves a breach never to be repair'd to us, or to the public. He has been the focus round which the votaries of science & public good collected; he animated them by his counsel & his example. Our Society, the Medical School, & almost every useful institution, where knowledge was to be extended or benevolence exercised, found in him a warm & enlightend supporter. But what can I say to you that you do not know better than myself? In our feeling & regrets we are equal. He has for years been the greatest source of my comfort & enjoyment; & how could it be otherwise when I was gratified by his society two or three times in every week whilst he was in Philad^a, & assisted him in many of his useful & philanthropic plans? But I must close; my heart is too full to proceed.

Yours as ever,

JN. VAUGHAN.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, Monticello.

* Dr. Caspar Wistar was born in Philadelphia, Sept. 13, 1761, and died there Jan. 22, 1818. He succeeded Jefferson as President of the American Philosophical Society in 1815.
— Eds.

JOHN VAUGHAN TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

PHILAD., Feb^y 12, 1818.

D. SIR, — I take the liberty of enclosing a list of queries which Judge Tilghman has handed to me.* Many of these are local, but if to any of them you can give a reply which may assist him in the task he has undertaken & enable him to do the justice he wishes to our deceased friend (whose loss we every day feel more & more), it is very desirable. Whatever you can do & do speedily will be most thankfully received by him & felt by his worthy family, who selected M^r Tilghman as the person of their wish to pronounce the eulogy. I am engaged in procuring the local information. It is proposed to deliver it in the first days of March, that the students may have the advantage of hearing it.

We shall try to keep up the Saturday evening meetings. We propose the plan to M^r Tilghman, Rawle, N. Biddle, Du Ponceau, R. M. Patterson, Collins, & myself, & to endeavor to see strangers of merit passing through. We shall want the attractive magnet, but we shall derive pleasure from the attempt & the recollection of the friend who established them & gave them such interest. I remain, with great respect,

Your ob. serv^t & friend,

JN. VAUGHAN.

The river being closed, your letter for Cathalan is sent to N York.

Have you a spare copy of the Report on Fisheries whilst you was Sec. State? I want it for M. de la Monniere, who

* William Tilghman, an eminent jurist, was born in Talbot County, Md., Aug. 12, 1756, and died in Philadelphia, April 30, 1827. In 1818 he delivered before the American Philosophical Society a Eulogium in Commemoration of Dr. Caspar Wistar. See Appleton's Cyclopædia of American Biography, vol. vi. p. 116. — Eds.

is Superintendant of the French Fisheries, & is publishing a very learned & interesting work on this subject. If you have, I think I can make a good use of it for the society.

1. When was Dr Wistar born, & where?
2. From what country did his ancestors emigrate, when did they arrive, & in what degree of kindred was he to the first emigrant?
3. In what school did he receive his classical education?
4. Under what physician did he study medicine, & when did he commence?
5. At what time did he take his degree or degrees in medicine, & in what colleges?
6. When did he go to Europe, & to what parts did he go, & when did he return?
7. What offices or professorships has he held in this city, & what were the periods of his appointments?
8. Has he made any discovery's in arts or sciences, & when?
9. What were the striking excellencies in his mode of lecturing on Anatomy?
10. What printed works was he the author of?
11. What works in manuscript did he leave, finished or unfinished?
12. What were his domestic habits?
13. What were his religious sentiments?
14. Are there any striking anecdotes with regard to his life or his death, which may be properly inserted in his eulogium?
15. What distinguished persons in Europe & also what in America were his intimate friends & correspondents?
16. What other services did he render to science, & in what manner?

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO BERNARD PEYTON.*

MONTICELLO, Mar. 20, 18.

DEAR SIR, — I recieved yesterday your favor of the 16th, and am thankful for your attention to my wants. I saw William Johnson the evening before his boat started last. He told me that he should not go down himself, but that his brother would, and he would be answerable for every thing trusted to him as if to himself. I was on horse back and at the river side, so could not give him a written order, but shall hereafter be willing to trust *his boat*, whether he is with it himself or not, and consequently would wish the rest of my wines to be delivered to the conductor of his boat whenever called for. The impossibility of buying raw cotton obliges [me] to recur to the cultivating it myself. So much has it [got] out of practice that even the seed is lost in this part of the country. Could you possibly buy me a sack or barrel of about 5 bushels? It will be a great accomodation to me.

Affectionately yours,

TH: JEFFERSON.

Capt PEYTON.

THOMAS COOPER TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

PHILADELPHIA, 19th Ap., 1818.

DEAR SIR, — I received your letter yesterday. For the present I am bound here. The friends who exert themselves in endeavouring to promote my interest require of me that the pains they have taken shall not be rendered nugatory. If D^r Dorsey be elected in the room of D^r Wistar, which is likely, if D^r Coxe be elected in the room of

* Bernard Peyton was a commission merchant in Richmond, and during the latter part of Jefferson's life transacted most, if not all, of his business in that city. It is interesting to note the fact that in consequence of the difficulty of buying raw cotton, in 1818, Jefferson proposed "to recur to the cultivating it" himself. The principal products of his plantations were wheat and tobacco. — Eds.

D^r Dorsey, which also is likely, but by no means void of doubt, it will also be likely that I shall succeed Coxe. The gross folly and manifest insufficiency of Mr Hare has put him hors du combat. If he and D^r Smith stay at Williamsburgh, that college raises its head no more. When these probabilities will be put to the test, I know not exactly. I have been invited to New York where they are going to establish a legislative board of agriculture with a chemical professorship annexed to it, but if I do not stay here, I shall not give a thought to any other situation but that which you propose.

I send you the account of the institution here, & my notions of what it w^d be desireable for a young man to learn at an university, where he will have to reside three years. At Oxford & Cambridge, four years are required previous to a degree. I wish it were so here, for the haste with which young men are pushed forward into active life seems to me a national misfortune.

I have purposely omitted a theological course. If the evidences of Xtianity are fairly given on both sides, it is impossible to avoid very strong doubts as to the validity of the evidences in its favour. If only one side be laid before the student, it will be fraud. I have a right to say this, having possessed myself of, and consulted, nearly all the antient fathers, and studied the question with great labour and anxiety, as much as possible *au fond*. I think, therefore, it is best to avoid the subject, & leave religion to the direction of the parents of the young men.

You ought to look forward to making your university a medical school. For this purpose a hospital will be absolutely necessary; not merely on account of clinical lectures (of all lectures the most useful), but of subjects for dissection. We have too many professors in the medical school here, and the course ought to continue not less than six months. The pupils hurry through their duties, without having time to obtain the necessary knowledge.

1. Surgery & Midwifery ; 2. Anatomy & Comparative Anatomy with Physiology ; 3. Theory & Practise of Medicine ; 4. Materia Medica, Botany, & Pharmacy, — the two last of which do not enter into our medical course here ; 5. Chemistry & Chemical Materia Medica.

We have actually, 1. Anatomy ; 2. Surgery ; 3. Midwifery ; 4. Materia Medica ; 5. Chemistry. The clinical lectures are separately given at the hospital & almshouse ; and given not necessarily by the medical professors. The course extends from the beginning of November to the end of February. They ought to begin in October, & finish not before the end of March at the soonest. Much care is taken here in examinations, particularly weekly examinations, technically denominated here *quizzes*.

I do not think I dilate much, but I find great difficulty in giving a tolerable course of chemistry under four months, at 5 lectures a week : six months at four lectures a week would be more beneficial ; it would afford useful time both to professor & student.

I regret I cannot be with you the beginning of May. My first course of mineralogy was a new thing here ; few attended me ; at the close of the course, they wrote me unanimously & voluntarily a very complimentary letter, and requested me to repeat my course of lectures, becoming subscribers anew. They have mustered for me a class of about forty, which is daily encreasing ; & as I have undertaken to lecture twice a day, repeating in the evening my lecture of the morning, I do not see how I can stirr without breach of contract. It would on every account be to me most desirable to accompany M^r Correa, who has been very ill at Norfolk ; but I do not see how I can do so without breach of propriety. Indeed, he wrote me that he would be here in May, as I understood his letter from Norfolk on the 10th of April.

I once mentioned to you M^r Stack, or Slack, who was at Lynchburgh. I have heard him act in capacity of

classical tutor, much to my satisfaction. He was of Trinity College, Dublin. I greatly doubt whether you will procure a better teacher. Is he the worse for having lost the freshness of recent importation? I think you might enquire farther concerning him, with profit to your institution. At all times, whatever suggestions I can make for the benefit of the college you have set on foot, you will command. Pray accept my most affectionate regards.

THOMAS COOPER.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO JOHN NELSON.*

MONTICELLO, NOV. 8, 18.

DEAR SIR, — I inclose you 4 letters lately recieved, which I suppose to be from your friends in Ireland, and which I hope may give you agreeable news from them.

I return you also the papers which Mr. Dinsmore gave me from you, and I see, not without sensible regret, that our ideas of the mode of charging interest are very different. I never in my life paid a cent of compound interest, being principled against it; not but that compound may be made as just as simple interest, but then it should be at a lower rate. Interest, simple or compound, is a compensation for the use of money, and the legislature supposed, as is the truth & general opinion, that taking one mode of employing money with another, 6 per cent simple interest is an average profit; but had they established a compensation by way of compound interest, they would have probably fixed it at 4 or $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The difference it makes in our case is but a little over 40 D., — a sum which with you I think nothing of, could I allow myself to countenance what I think is

* This letter is printed from Jefferson's polygraph copy. It is addressed at the foot of the page to "Mr Neilson," but is indorsed in Jefferson's hand "John Nelson." — Eds.

wrong, without pretending to censure those who think differently; as it is, your debt, in the form in which I always considered it, shall be paid out of the proceeds of my crop now going to market as soon as sold, which possibly may be not till April. Your debt has remained in my hands because not called for, & in the belief you had no expectation of placing it at better profit. Had I ever supposed you wished to employ it otherwise, it should never have been kept from you a moment. In no case, however, will this difference of opinion lessen my wishes to be useful to you, nor my friendly esteem for you.

TH: JEFFERSON.

Mr NIELSON.

JOSEPH M. SANDERSON * TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

BALTIMORE, Dec. 9, 1818.

DEAR SIR,—I send you the prospectus of a work which I am about to publish. I wish to know your opinion of the plan, &, if not imposing too much on your leisure, I would be glad if you would suggest any alteration by which it can be made interesting to the people of the United States. A work of the kind appears to be much wanted, for many of the signers to the Declaration of Independence are entirely unknown to two-thirds of the people. The avidity recently displayed for the possession of the print of the Declaration of Independence, & the anxiety to know the history of the several signers, is

* Joseph M. Sanderson was a brother of John Sanderson, author of the first two volumes of the "Biography of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence." The copyright of these two volumes was taken out in the name of Joseph M. Sanderson as proprietor, and both volumes have on the title-page the names of John Sanderson as author and R. W. Pomeroy as publisher. The third and later volumes are copyrighted by R. W. Pomeroy as proprietor; and in the third volume is a prefatory note which states that "The contents of the present volume have either been prepared by, or published under the inspection of, Mr. Robert Waln, Jr., who will continue to provide and arrange proper materials for the completion of the work." The life of Jefferson is in the seventh volume, which was not copyrighted until 1827. — Eds.

a proof that the characters of many of these illustrious men have been neglected. Such, however, is the motive that has prompted me to the undertaking, & I trust that through the assistance of the several connexions I shall be able to make it honorable to the nation. To you I would apply for some of the facts relative to the passage of the law; but I fear it would be too much intrusion. If, however, there is any thing you could communicate without interfering with your ease that would tend to illustrate the work, I shall consider myself under an unbounded obligation to you. With wishes therefore for your ease & comfort, I remain, very respectfully,

Your humble servant,

JOSEPH M. SANDERSON.

48 Market Street, Baltimore.

His Excellency THOMAS JEFFERSON.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO WILLIAM TUDOR.*

MONTICELLO, Jan. 31, 19.

SIR, — Your favor of the 13th was recieved on the 24th, and I extremely regret that it is not in my power to give you any information on the subject of Mr. James Otis. My acquaintance with the Eastern characters began with the first Congress; Mr. Otis not being a member, I had never any personal acquaintance or correspondence with him. Col^o Richard Henry Lee, of Westmoreland County, had, I know, an active correspondence from the early dawn of our Revolution with gentlemen of that quarter, and with none more probably than Mr. Otis, who was then so conspicuous in the principles of the day. It is

* William Tudor, Jr., was born in Boston, Jan. 28, 1779, graduated at Harvard College in 1796, and died at Rio de Janeiro, March 9, 1830. He was the founder and first editor of the "North American Review," and author of a "Life of James Otis," which has deservedly enjoyed a high reputation, besides several minor publications. See Proceedings, vol. i. pp. 429-433. — EDS.

probable he preserved Mr. Otis's letters, and that his family now possesses them. Of them I have no knolege, as their residence is in a part of the State very remote from mine. But a certain & easy channel for your communication with them would be thro' any member of Congress from your State and the member from the Westmoreland district of ours. Who he is, I cannot tell you, so entirely am I withdrawn from all attention to public affairs, and so thoroughly satisfied to leave them to the generation in place, in whose hands, from the advancing state of knolege, they will be at least as wisely conducted as they have been by their predecessors. With this scanty information, all, however, which I possess, I pray you to accept the assurance of my high respect and esteem.

TH : JEFFERSON.

W. TUDOR, Esq.

GEORGE TICKNOR TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Thomas Jefferson, Esq., Monticello, Albermarle County, Virginia.

EDINBORO', Feby. 13, 1819.

DEAR SIR, — I received a few days since in London your letter of Oct. 25, with some later from my friends in Massachusetts, which relieved me from the apprehensions respecting your health with which I had been filled by one of the publick papers. A letter from General Lafayette noticing one received from yourself which you wrote subsequently to your illness has confirmed me in the belief that I may, if my life is spared, yet have the pleasure of seeing you at Monticello, enjoying all you enjoyed when you last received me under your hospitable roof; and how much pleasure this has given me, I hope I need not tell you. Neither does it seem to me to be necessary to tell you how grateful I am for the kind regard you express towards me in your letter, for you will not think me so unworthy of it as to be insensible to it. I make

haste, however, to say to you that I cannot avail myself of the influence your kindness would use in my favour to procure me a place in your new & most promising university, aware, as I am, not only that this influence would be decisive, but that it would procure me any thing I could reasonably ask to render my situation there pleasant & useful. The *natale solum*, with all the associations & habits I have formed under its influences would be a strong objection ; but there is one still stronger & positively insuperable. My father is very old ; only a few days since I should have spoken of my mother, and the desolation I feel from her loss but serves to remind me how necessary his only child has become to my father. During his life the duty of alleviating his sorrows and of affording all the comfort & support I can to his old age, must be paramount with me. The rest of my family, too, seem peculiarly to require me to be near them, and when I sum up all the circumstances, the course of my conduct stands imperatively pointed out to me. In the first shock of my sorrow, I can hardly look very far or very clearly into futurity ; but my present plan is, to return home as soon as I can, perform the duties the situation of my father & family impose on me as the first of all, & in the mean time rely for literary occupation & success on a connexion I think to form with the college at Cambridge, which will not interfere with these duties, or even prevent me from living in Boston, as they will only imply a course of lectures on the Belles Lettres.

At the same time, I beg you to recollect that if I can in any way contribute to the progress & success of your establishment, my humble efforts shall never be wanting. I rejoice in it, not only disinterestedly, as a means of promoting knowledge & happiness, but selfishly as the means of exciting by powerful & dangerous rivalry the emulation of our college at the North, which has so long believed itself first in reputation that this excitement will not be

without a good effect on its indolence. If, therefore, you would do me a favour, you will employ me in some way in which I can be useful to your plans.

I would gladly add something that might be interesting to you, but I have been here only a few days and my feelings are little fitted to enable me to do more than my obligations require. It has cost me an effort to write even this; but my gratitude has for a moment at least prevailed over my sorrows and given me the strength to assure you how sensible I am to your kindness which has followed me from the first moment I knew you. Present, I pray you, my best regards & acknowledgements to all your family, & believe me always anxious to acknowledge my obligations to yourself.

GEO: TICKNOR.

T. JEFFERSON, Esq.

WILLIAM SHORT TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

PHILAD^A, May 25, 1819.

DEAR SIR,—I have deprived myself for a very long time of the pleasure of writing to you, as I know how much you are taxed by correspondence, & how burthensome that tax is to you. This abstinence on my part has been a real sacrifice, & more especially since we have heard, through the newspapers, of the fire at Monticello. None of your friends here with whom I have spoken know any thing more of it than what is stated in those papers. And this is too general to satisfy the anxiety of those who feel a deep interest in whatever concerns you. We infer, however, that enough of the house is left to accomodate you & your family, & I hope, with convenience. It would be a great relief to us to know this with certainty from yourself, & particularly if you had near you any amanuensis whom you could employ for the purpose.

The progress of the University inspires a good deal of interest here, & particularly on account of the part which it is known that you take in it. Since your last letter, which was in Decemb., I have seen that the Assembly has realized your expectations, & adopted the recommended site. A friend at Richmond has sent me several pamphlets respecting the two establishments, which give a promise of much honor & much profit also to the State, — the literary fund & that for public works. But I should fear that the appropriation of \$15,000 p ann. would by no means be adequate to enable you to procure such professors, & in such numbers as you wish. For although living & the support of a family be much cheaper of course in that quarter than in a city, yet most professors, I believe, would prefer the city at equal prices. I am persuaded, for instance, that Dr Cooper would have remained here if he could have obtained a situation in the city less advantageous in point of salary.

He will prove, I think, a valuable acquisition to you, for his knowledge is unquestionably great & most varied. I feared only two circumstances as to him, — his temper, which is said to be unaccommodating, & his temperance, which has been often questioned. On this last point, however, I am very glad to be able to tell you that I have lately satisfied myself fully. A relation of mine who is one of the Visitors had heard this report in such a way, it appeared, as to disquiet him, & wrote to me in consequence thereof to beg me to give him such information on the subject as I could with propriety. For this purpose I applied to a gentleman who, I knew, must be perfectly *au fait* of whatever related to the subject. I knew him also to be a friend to Cooper, but a greater friend to truth. I put him on his honor & candor, begging him not to answer me at all (as to which he was perfectly at liberty), or to answer me with strictness & without mental reservation of any kind.

He promised this; I have no doubt complied scrupulously with his promise. He told me that it could not be concealed that such a report had prevailed formerly as to Cooper, & he was inclined to think there might then have been some foundation for it, owing to some domestic infelicity which at that time existed, but that he could assure me on his honor that for many years back he had known him positively to be one of the most sober & temperate men he had ever known, & that he was in fact a mere water drinker. The appearance of his face would indicate the contrary to a stranger; & it is possibly this appearance which may have kept alive the report after it ceased to have any foundation.

There is another gentleman here, who, I think, would be an equally valuable acquisition to you in the department of mathematics. It is probable you will have heard of him, & perhaps even an application has been already made to you on his part. I pretend not to judge of him myself, & indeed I am not sufficiently acquainted with him for that purpose, even if I were capable in other respects. Mr Patterson, our present President, spoke to me of him, with a great desire to see him engaged by you, saying he had no doubt he would accept your offer with pleasure, as he was at present out of employment here. He was for a time Professor of Mathematics in this University, but on some disagreement with the Trustees as to the *mode d'enseignement*, I think, he resigned. He is really a most extraordinary man, who, like Franklin, has pierced, against all unpropitious circumstances, & by the force of genius & industry found the way to his place. Although he has the appearance of a young man still, he was for some time a common laboring carpenter in this country, whither he had come from Ireland. The moments he could spare from his labor he devoted to the study of the mathematics, & at this moment is considered as inferior to no one in these United States in that

science. Bowditch of Salem considers him, I am told, a prodigy. He has acquired the French language in order to be able to read La Place in his own language, & is one of the few men who is capable of reading & appreciating him. In order to correct the original defects of his education he has lately set about acquiring the Latin & Greek languages. Of the first he is already said to be perfect master, & in the second has made great proficiency. I understand that he purposes going to Europe if he should not find employment in this country.

When M^r Patterson spoke to me of him, I advised his writing to you on his subject. I know not if he did so; if not, I would recommend it to you to write to him, as he could give you much better & more satisfactory information than I can. If you want a Professor of Mathematics you certainly could not find one more suitable to you.

A gentleman of my acquaintance here, & who, I believe, has some intention of offering himself for the chair of Anatomy with you, lately applied to me for information as to the progress of the institution. I advised him to apply to D^r Cooper, who would be probably more able than I was to give him information of the present state & future prospects of the University. He told me he had already done so, but that Cooper could not say any thing positive on the subject, & particularly had no idea when the establishment would be put into operation. I promised him I would make the enquiry, & inform him as nearly as I could. He desired his name to be kept back for the present, as his mind was not fully made up as to the application, which would depend on the time & manner of the commencement of this business. If you can now say when you propose to commence, when to name the professors, & in what manner applications should be made by those who wish to offer themselves. Indeed, whatever may relate to the progress of this institution

will always have a peculiar interest for me, & the present enquiry I make for the gentleman I have mentioned.

Excuse, if you please, my troubling you on another subject. I promised M^r Poletica, the new Russian Minister, that I would make enquiry as to it, — the affairs of Kosciusko in this country. He has been requested by some person in office in Poland, & I believe a relative of Kosciusko, to procure information on this matter, & a reference was given him to you & also to M^r Barnes. Poletica is now gone to Washington, & perhaps he may write to you from thence on it himself. In that case, what I now ask may be considered as *non avenu*. I told him that writing had now become so laborious to you that I taxed you as seldom as possible with any letter requiring an answer; but that when I should write to you again, I would take occasion to mention this subject, & communicate any information I might recieve from you. In the mean time I informed him that Kosciusko's funds in this country, as I had understood, had been by his orders sold & remitted to him. And I remember perfectly that when M^r Barnes was here some years ago, he told me he was then looking for bills of exch. to make this remittance, & expressed his great anxiety on the subject, lest the bills might prove not of the best kind. I seldom know when to stop when I find myself in communication with you. Fortunately for you, my paper puts limits to this letter. Accept my best wishes for your health & happiness, & believe me, dear Sir, as I am, with great truth,

Your grateful friend,

W: SHORT.

WILLIAM SAMPSON* TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

NEW YORK, June 10th, 1819.

DEAR SIR, — By the mail of this day I take the liberty of sending you a copy of “An Essay on the Necessity of Improving our National Forces.” This work is from the pen of the son of my brave and distinguished friend Theobald Wolfe Tone, who fought, and, when fighting could no longer avail, died for his country. His son† inherits his virtues, and with them the affections of his father’s friends. After his father’s death he was adopted by the French nation and educated as a child of the public. After finishing his education at the military school he entered the army, where he served from 1810 to 1815, and left it with the most honorable testimonials of his courage and fidelity. After receiving a number of wounds, and being left lifeless on the field of battle at Leipswich, and other casualties attending a military career, he resigned his commission on the overthrow of Napoleon, and came to identify himself with freedom in this Republic. He has been three years studying its laws and constitution with me, and has given me proofs that he has a mind suited to the acquirement of any knowledge that is not inconsistent with a liberal and enlarged way of thinking, but more especially fitted for the duties of his former profession. He has a clear head and quick

* William Sampson was born in Londonderry, Ireland, Jan. 17, 1764, and died in the city of New York Dec. 27, 1836. He was educated as a lawyer, and having been identified with the United Irishmen came under the suspicion of the government. After the collapse of the rebellion of 1798 he was imprisoned, but was released on condition that he should go to Portugal. Finally he came to this country and established himself as a lawyer in New York, where he obtained a large practice. He was the author of several publications on law and history. See Appleton’s Cyclopædia of American Biography, vol. v. p. 383. — Eds.

† William Theobald Wolfe Tone was born in Dublin, Ireland, April 29, 1791, and came to this country after the battle of Waterloo. In July, 1820, he was appointed an officer of artillery, but resigned from the army in December, 1826. He married a daughter of William Sampson, and died in New York, Oct. 10, 1828. See Appleton’s Cyclopædia of American Biography, vol. vi. p. 131. — Eds.

apprehension of whatever engages his attention, and being expert at matters of detail as well as capable of extensive views, I have long wished that he was known to those who could appreciate him, and employed where he could be most useful. Mr Calhoun has been informed by better authority than mine of his talent, and has expressed a desire to place him in his department on the first vacancy. He is too modest to obtrude himself, and stands in need of encouragement to do himself justice. It was, therefore, that at his request I have the honor of presenting his work to you, and on my own behalf I beg leave to recommend him to your favor. Please, Sir, to receive our joint assurance of every sentiment of esteem and attachment due to your person and your name.

WILLIAM SAMPSON.

BENJAMIN VAUGHAN TO MARTHA JEFFERSON RANDOLPH.

M^{rs}. Randolph; at the Hon^{ble}. M^r Jefferson's.

HALLOWELL, June 23, 1819.

DEAR MADAM, — I presume to send you the inclosed, the writer of which seems to wish to put the religious party on his side. A new attack has been made on vaccination by a certain D^r. Browne in Scotland; but the sum total of it is, want of candor in argument & the use of spurious kine pox in practice. D^r. Jenner, D^r. J. R. Coxe, & all of us who use genuine matter, have seen nothing like constant crisks of pustules. I know no failure in resisting the small pox, where the genuine matter has been employed; & the genuine matter is without pustules, generally speaking, unless at the puncture.

The packet of Swedish turnip seed was sent, as desired, with a letter from my eldest son, W^m. Oliver Vaughan.

My youngest son sailed for England on the 16th May from Charleston, having been detained so long by various

circumstances that in England they have thought him lost, or at least missing.

I trust that the health of Mr Jefferson is re-established, and that he is able fully to resume his exercise. The Edinburgh Review for Oct^r, 1806, has a review of Dr. Priestley's memoirs, which contains an account of the peculiarity of *his* memory, from *varied occupations*, well known to others also, & particularly to myself. I wish Mr. Jefferson to re-peruse it. I can assure him that I have at one time in my life so forgotten quadratic equations as to be delighted with the contrivance when I accidentally met with an example of it. I had even forgotten the difference between arithmetical & geometrical proportionals. The most ordinary facts in architecture, in painting, in morals, &c., had alike escaped me. It was necessary, & is still so, to get into my old trains again, & all becomes right. But I do not therefore set myself down as defective in memory, but only as unable to have every thing present at one & the same time. *Certain* memories hold a given quantity *at a time*, & no more; and we discover this more & more as we advance in years.

I have but just received my books from Philadelphia, and with them, Cabanis on Catarrh. It shall be returned in due season with thanks.

We are to be separated, it seems, from Massachusetts, and I think the old State is full as anxious to get rid of us as we are to set up for ourselves. Our people had seemed to forget that they had any governors over them, till certain persons reminded them of it, the government at Washington alone being really interesting to most of those who are careless about office. The old bird, however, is well satisfied to peck us off.

Professor Cleaveland has confirmed my opinion, that the cases of discolored plaster in buildings are owing to iron in the lime mixed with the gypsum. He told me, when discoursing on the subject, that he had just received

2 or 3 hhds of lime warm from the kiln, with an evident mixture of iron in them. This becomes, therefore, a matter of serious examination when public buildings are to be stuccoed, without or within. Stucco is the most commodious representative of stone that we can employ; being so cheap, so easily divisible for carriage, so easily fashioned, so thin in its coat, so susceptible of different colors & surfaces, & so easily repaired when injured. In the case of pillars, we need no joints; and in the interior of the Unitarian church at Baltimore we find it capable of receiving a beautiful polish, while those without bear incrustations.

I hope, my dear madam, when you recollect how averse Mr Jefferson is to receiving letters which he may think that he must answer, that you will forgive my putting him at ease on this subject. On the other hand, you will not suppose that I can flatter myself with any expectation of hearing from you on the subjects of vaccination, agriculture, or architecture; though I acknowledge that it would give me a sensible gratification to hear from any good authority that Mr Jefferson had recovered his usual state of health. When I returned from Monticello, I was much mortified to hear false accounts of it, though I had the pleasure of being able to place things upon their true footing in consequence of what I had seen.

I beg my respectful remembrances to Mr Jefferson as also to the young ladies.

I have the honor to be, with high respect, dear Madam,
Your faithful humble serv^t.

BENJⁿ. VAUGHAN.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO WILLIAM SHORT.

MONTICELLO, June 22, 19, by mistake for 29th.

DEAR SIR, — Your favor of June 22 is recieved. That of May 25 had come to hand in due time, and was in my bundle of "Letters to be answered"; but as I am obliged

to marshal them according to their degree of pressure I had not yet reached it, altho' I devote to that business daily from sunrise to dinner, saving one hour to ride, and generally from dinner to sun set. On the subject of the anatomist and mathematician who wish a place in our University, nothing can be said at present, because it has been concluded by the Visitors to employ all our funds of the present and next year in providing buildings for the habitation of the professors and students, and consequently not to open the University *generally* until the year 1821. I say *generally*, because particular & previous transactions had led to the proposing to D^r Cooper the commencing his branches in April next. The conflagration in which you are kind enough to take an interest was only of a detached pavilion, which is now again under repair. M^r Poletika has been on a visit to us and left us yesterday. I had previously by letter given him the necessary explanations on Kosciuzko's affairs here, which were quite satisfactory to him. I am endeavoring to transfer the whole business to a Federal court, having refused the executorship. We have had a circuitous rumor that you meant to visit your native State this summer. In that event we should certainly hope to share in the visit. As Mr. Correa promises an annual pilgrimage to this place, I am informing him of my movements the ensuing season, that I may not lose the benefit of his visit, as once befel me. I set out to Poplar Forest this day week, to remain there thro' July, Aug., & Sep. I must be back of necessity by the 1st of Oct. to the meeting of our Visitors, at which further arrangements will be decided on respecting our University; and as yourself as well as M^r. Correa are kind enough to take an interest in it's success, it may be some inducement towards the timing your visit. I will be responsible that for health you will be as safe here as at the watering places, altho' we cannot offer as varied a

society; yet I trust the day is not so distant but that I shall live to see it, when we can be able to offer a more desirable society to men of mind than any other place in America. We have a carte blanche for their employment, and we mean to accept for our institution no person of secondary grade in his science, if there be one of the first on either side of the Atlantic who can be tempted to come to us. We are providing for them as handsome and comfortable lodgings as they can have in Europe, and their satisfaction here will be liberally cultivated. There is a cloud, however, visible in our horizon. The infatuated confidence in banks has made much of our capital of a million and a half of dollars to depend on their fate. My remonstrances for years back against these unsafe deposits have been recieved as the forebodings of Cassandra. When now upbraided with this the answer is, Who would have thought it? Till the present state of things, however, be unravelled, we must slacken our pace. I salute you as ever with constant & affectionate friendship and respect.

TH: JEFFERSON.

W. SHORT.

WILLIAM SHORT TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

PHILAD^A, Oct. 21, 1819.

DEAR SIR, — I had last the pleasure of writing to you on the 14th of August, from Ballston Spa, my usual summer residence. The cause of my troubling you at present you will find inclosed, — a letter from our old & worthy friend de la Motte, which he sent to me with a request that I would forward it to you. I had remained several years without hearing from him; & I learn now with real pain that the cause of his silence was the derangement of his affairs. He speaks of general ruin among all commercial men in his quarter, & I very much fear from his letter that his is complete. He tells me he has two sons

& a daughter all now entering on life, & that he finds himself, in his old age, now reduced to begin the world again with them. I feel for him really more than I can express. I suppose his letter to you will give a more full detail of his losses.

The newspapers have again informed us of your recent indisposition; it has given your friends here, & to none more than myself, a great deal of uneasiness. But Mr Correa has just informed me that he has seen a letter from you of the 15th of this month, written in very good spirits, & we suppose therefore with a return of good health. We both put our hope & trust in this. He purposes going to visit you in November. And I envy him this gratification, without being able to indulge myself in it. There is no circumstance in which I feel the effects of advancing age so much as in my faculties of locomotion. From habitual indulgence I have come to consider repose as the *summum bonum*, so that when driven out of this heated brick kiln in the summer, my first aim is to reach that place of repose which can be the soonest & the easiest attained. This is of course Ballston, as it requires only fifty miles of land carriage, the rest being performed in steamboats, & a great part of it during sleep. This growing indolence (which I know I am wrong to indulge, & yet continue to do so — “*video meliora, peiora sequor*”) has made me give up by degrees my daily exercise on horseback. I have so far adopted the principles of Epicurus (who, after all, I am inclined to believe was the wisest of all the ancient philosophers, as he is certainly the least understood & the most calumniated among them) as to consult my ease towards the attainment of happiness in this poor world, poor even in making the best of it.

Apropos of philosophers; you recollect without doubt the marble bust of Condorcet, which stood on a marble table in the salon of the Hotel de la Rochefoucauld. When

it was determined no longer to recieve him in that house, it was thought *inconvenant* to keep the bust there. The grandchildren, who never liked him, availed themselves of this to have the bust transported to the *garde meuble* without consulting the old lady, whose leave was generally asked on every occasion. She passed this over in silence, however, & never made a remark or enquiry as to the disappearance of the bust. It had cost her a great effort to signify to the original that his presence had become disagreeable; she had really a parental affection for him, & had given a remarkable proof of this at the time of his marriage. On her death I asked this bust of the granddaughter, who gave it to me with great pleasure. It has been on its way here ever since I left France, & has passed through as many *casus & discrimina rerum* as Eneas himself (or perhaps it was Ulysses) on its way. It has finally arrived & is at present placed in the Philosophical hall in the most suitable company, the busts of Franklin, yourself, Turgot.

I have not for a long time heard any thing of the University, & I am sorry for this, as I take a very sincere interest in its prosperity. I never could discover from Cooper whether it gave him pleasure to be spoken to about it. Dr Browne, who is one of the professors of the University at Lexington has just left us for that place. He told me before his departure that they were endeavoring to prevail on Cooper to go & give a course of lectures there during the winter previously to his entering on his duties with you in April. But since Browne's departure I have observed by the papers that they have appointed a Professor of Chymistry; so that I suppose the idea of Cooper is abandoned. If you should succeed in finding some other professors of the same stamp with Cooper, no institution certainly could boast of more able men. I speak particularly of his acquirements, which seem to be great on every subject. I shall always look

with great anxiety & great interest to what so much concerns my native State in general & yourself more especially. Accept my best wishes for its prosperity, & for your health & happiness.

Ever & affectionately, dear Sir,

Your friend & servant,

W: SHORT.

HUGH NELSON * TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

CITY OF WASHINGTON, Feb^y 2^d [1820].

SIR, — The enclosed letter was handed to me some time since, by the French gentleman named in it, who avowed his design to be to wait upon you in reference to the object mentioned in the letter. As I did believe that you were much annoyed by applications of this sort, I thought in this instance it might be as well to save you from the visit; I therefor told the gentleman that I would address a letter to you and enclose that of Mr Wilmer, and learn if it would be worth his while to go up to Charlottesville on this subject. I told Mr. Calro also that I did believe that as yet there had been no determination to establish a professorship of Modern Languages immediately in the University. If you think proper to furnish an answer to this application I will with pleasure give it to the gentleman.

The Senate of the U. S. have determined by a vote of 27 to 16 to reject the proposal to impose the restriction on Missouri in the formation of her Constitution. The whole of the Senators except one were present. The absentee, Mr. Horsey, of Delaware, is understood to be against the restriction, so that in that body our interest

* Hugh Nelson was born in Virginia, Sept. 30, 1768, graduated at William and Mary College in 1790, and died in Albemarle County, Va., March 18, 1836. He was a member of the United States House of Representatives from 1811 to 1823, and minister to Spain from the latter year to 1825. See Appleton's *Cyclopædia of American Biography*, vol. iv. p. 492; Lanman's *Biographical Annals*, pp. 308, 608. — Eds.

is secured by a majority of 12. The fate of the proposition in the H. R. is more questionable. Thus far we are safe as to the restriction. But then what will be the success of the application of Missouri to be admitted as a State into the Union is uncertain. The Senate have coupled Maine and Missouri together, and have thereby afforded us a better chance of carrying the measure in the House. We believe the members from Maine will sooner give up the restriction than lose their stand among the States of the Union.

Accept the tender of my respects, and believe me,
Y^r. obed^t hble. s^{rt}.

HUGH NELSON.

CHAPMAN JOHNSON* TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Thomas Jefferson, Esquire, Monticello.

CHARLOTTESVILLE, Monday, 28 Feby., '20.

DEAR SIR, — You have seen by the new's papers, and I suppose have been informed by M^r Cabell, that all we could do for the University, at the late session of the legislature, was to procure a law authorising the Visitors to borrow any sum not exceeding sixty thousand dollars, at interest not exceeding 6 per cent, for the purpose of finishing the buildings. To effect this, the Visitors are at liberty to pledge so much of the annual appropriation of 15 thousand dollars, — the endowment of the University, — as they think proper, for payment of interest and redemption of principal. We may borrow of either of the banks, or of any person or corporate body in the State.

Gen^l Breckenridge, M^r Cabell, and myself thought it

* Chapman Johnson was born in Louisa County, Va., March 12, 1779; graduated at William and Mary College in 1802, obtained a very extensive practice as a lawyer, and died in Richmond, July 12, 1849. From 1815 to 1831 he was a member of the State Senate of Virginia. See Appleton's Cyclopædia of American Biography, vol. iii. p. 441. — Eds.

proper, before we left Richmond, to endeavour to ascertain whether the money could be borrowed. We thought it most convenient and most proper, in several respects, to borrow from the literary fund, if practicable. For the purpose of ascertaining this we addressed an enquiry to the board, and delivered it to the president, to be laid before them at a meeting which was expected on Saturday last. We suggested that the Visitors would probably wish to borrow the whole \$60,000, at convenient instalments, to be paid to them in the course of the present year, or in the course of the present and early in the next year; that about \$20,000 would probably be wanting in April, and that it was supposed the Visitors would wish to pledge as little of their income as possible for the extinguishment of the principal debt,—indeed, that it was thought most desirable that the principal sum should be redeemable only at their pleasure.

The board was prevented by accident from meeting, and to a note which I addressed to Col^o. Randolph, in the evening, I received an answer, of which the following is an extract: “The loan to the University, according to the proposal of the Visitors, may be counted on with certainty; and the new contracts may be made very safely with that expectation.” Though the meeting of the board had not taken place, Col^o. Randolph had no doubt an opportunity of ascertaining their dispositions on this subject. I therefore am sanguine in the expectation of procuring the loan from that quarter on the most convenient terms.

A meeting of the board was expected to-day, and I think it probable that you will receive information of the result by the mail which leaves Richmond to-morrow morning.

If we should be disappointed in our expectations of procuring the loan from the literary fund, I think there is much reason to expect it from the banks in Richmond.

I hope these expectations will enable you to keep the rest of the workmen from deserting us, until at the meeting on the first Monday in April, the loan can be authorised by the Visitors.

I should have done myself the pleasure to call on you, but that necessity requires me to be at home without delay.

With very great respect,
Your obt. sv^t.

C. JOHNSON.

HUGH NELSON TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

WASHINGTON, Feby 29th, 1820.

SIR, — I must ask your pardon for this day, in a debate, taking the liberty of reading an extract from your letter in an address which I delivered to the House. It was only that extract which related to the Missouri question. I cou'd not forego the temptation of availing myself of the influence of your name to attempt to check the mad career of the majority on this most interesting question. I trust I shall receive your forgiveness for this liberty; at present we are debating a bill for admitting Missouri into the Union. To this the Northern men are endeavouring to attach the restriction. The immediate question before us is, Shall this clause be imperative on Missouri, or shall it be discretionary? I fear much they will triumph in the absolute injunction.

Another bill is pending between the two Houses. A conference is ordered by both Houses, and committees are appointed. This was the bill which originated in the H. R. for admitting Maine into the Union. The Senate attached to it the bill for admitting Missouri. They also attached the provision for admitting slavery into the Missouri and the country lying along the Mississippi, but excluding it from territories north of 36° 30', and admit-

ting the same into the country south of this line of latitude. The House struck out this amendment. The Senate insisted. The House also insisted. The Senate asked the conference; the House agreed to it. It now stands on the question of compromise proposed. What will be the issue, I can not say. Great efforts are making on both sides.

With sentiments of respect, I tender my salutations.

HUGH NELSON.

HUGH NELSON TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

WASHINGTON, March 4th, 1820.

SIR, — Presuming that you feel a deep interest in the decision of the question which of late so much agitated the country, I doubt not a brief statement of its issue will be agreeable. On Friday last, the 2^d inst, it was finally settled between the two Houses. The restriction on Missouri as a State was rejected, and also on the country south of 36° 30' N., which lies west of Arkansaw, but on the country west of the State of Missouri and north of this line of latitude, which is altogether unsettled and over which the Indian title still exists, as you know, they persevered in asserting that this restriction should be imposed. In the House Rep. the majority was in favour of the entire restriction over the State as well as the unsettled territory. In the Senate the majority was against restricting the State, but had no doubt of the right of restricting the territory. The result has been the exemption of Missouri, of Arkansa, and all the territory south of the line of latitude mentioned. Thus has ended this momentous question, which seemed to threaten most seriously the existence of the Union and the continuance of the peace of the country. With a day's rest I trust we shall regain our good humour, and proceed to

transact the business of the country, which for seven weeks past has been almost out of view.

Accept the tender of my respects, and allow me to subscribe myself y^r obed^t serv^t,

HUGH NELSON.

The bill for admission of Missouri is still with the President unsigned. The Maine bill was signed on Friday.

WILLIAM SHORT TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

PHILADELPHIA, March 27, 1820.

DEAR SIR, — It has been a long time, indeed, since I have had the pleasure of hearing from you, or of your health. Since my last of Dec. 1, I have remained betwixt the desire of writing to you & the fear of giving you trouble; knowing how much of this the correspondence of your friends imposes on you. I remember well how independent you formerly kept yourself of an amanuensis. At present an aid of this kind would be of great relief to you. And I, for one, have it much at heart that you should have this relief. I would then have no scruple in begging you to send me the syllabus of the Philosophy of Jesus, which you found too long to copy; & which, indeed, I would not have at the price of that trouble to you. From the little I saw, & from the great deal I have heard of one the members of your own family, I think you would find a most ready & willing & able amanuensis in her, & I wish, indeed, both for your sake & hers that you would accept this service at her hands.

I learned from Correa a few days ago that he had not heard from you either for a long time. We know nothing, therefore, of the state of your health but by inference, & not hearing any thing to the contrary, we flatter ourselves that you are well. Correa told me at the same

time, which I was very sorry to hear, that there is a combination forming in Virginia against the University, composed of the Presbyterian interest, w^{ch} he says has much increased, of the Tramontane people, disappointed at its not being located among them, & of the old metropolis, wishing to retain the seat of education there. I did not understand from him whether he had recieved this in the way of positive information, or had formed it by way of induction in his own mind. If the latter, I should still have hope of his being mistaken, for I have found that when he quits the botanical atmosphere & speculates on the moral & political, he is, like the rest of us, subject to miscalculation.

The last time I have heard mention made of you was the letter you wrote to M^r Nelson on the Missouri business. The letter was not given to us, so that we only know that that question had excited in your bosom the most gloomy apprehensions, but we do not learn in what way. I did wish very much, as I do still, to know your sentiments on that momentous subject, big with the fate of this Union. Like every other American, I too reflected much on it during its agitation. A compromise which I had much at heart was, that independence should be now given to all the Transmississipian region, retaining only the right of selling the soil to the emigrants so as to repay us our purchase money. If necessary I would have guaranteed to these people the same form of government that would have been had they remained in our Union, & have formed a treaty offensive & defensive with them, & secured all the offices of good neighborhood reciprocally. Thus parting as good friends, the most friendly sentiments would have grown up with their growth & strengthened with their strength. What better or what more can we desire? How many inconveniences also would this have avoided?

For at the next session of Congress when the State of

Missouri shall come forward with its constitution & ask for admission into the Union, you will probably see the whole of the same ground & with the same heat gone over again; the parties in the lower house are so nearly divided; & the members from the non slave-holding States will return with such lessons as will probably make them unanimous, including those from Maine. In this case it is calculated that they will have a majority against admitting the new State, &c., &c. This is what is now contemplated; what more will turn up, no one can say. If these apprehensions be well founded, would it not be well to prepare for a friendly compromise & separation?

I contemplate with much more satisfaction what I observe in several of the States towards an improvement of what they possess. How much more wise is it to bend our energies towards internal improvements than external extension. It is a noble & grand conception in the State of Virginia to unite the Ohio, & thus the whole Western country with James River. I hope they will persevere, & if so, I am sure they will succeed in this magnificent enterprize. There is more of the *grandiose* in the New York undertaking, but perhaps not more of real utility. The State of Pennsylvania unites in itself the advantages both of Virginia & of New York, as you will see by an attentive examination of the waters of the Alleghaney, the Susquehanna, and the Schuylkill; but the majority of their legislature is composed of ignorant Germans or descendants of Germans, who fear much more the improvement of Philadelphia, which they consider dangerous to liberty, than they desire the improvement of Pennsylvania. They have, however, at this session carried through the lower house by some dexterity, the grant of a large sum for internal improvements. It is now with the Senate, where, there is little doubt, it will be destroyed.

A private company here, of which I am one, has begun the improvement of this end of the chain, the River

Schuylkill. They use the bed of the river, in opposition to the idea of the Duke of Bridgewater's engineer, who thought rivers were only destined to feed canals. Our engineer is a most ingenious, self-taught Yankee, who seems to have no doubt of making this river perfectly navigable, & is now at work on it, as he has been for some time, with great apparent effect. I have subscribed \$10,000; many others have done the same, & one of my friends, not a man of great wealth either, & not at all a bold adventurer, has subscribed upwards of \$40,000. The link which would connect this river with the Susquehanna is a very short one & would be easily made; & when done every part of the State would send its productions to market through the Schuylkill.

When you can without inconvenience, I beg the favor of you to let me know the present state of your health. I have lately read over again D^r Franklin's plain & simple narration of the events of his own life. It has renewed my desire to see the same kind of work from yourself; but I will not be importunate in asking it at your hands against your own inclination, notwithstanding the great gratification it would give to your invariable & faithful friend,

W: SHORT.

WILLIAM C. JARVIS* TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Hon. Thomas Jefferson, near Lynchburg, Virginia.

PITTSFIELD, Oct^r 16, 1820.

YOURS of the 20th ult^o I have received, and the pleasure it gave me is by no means diminished by the objection you make to what seems to be the opinion expressed in

* William Charles Jarvis was a man of more than ordinary note in his own time, but his name is not found in Allen's, Appleton's, or Drake's biographical dictionaries; and he is not mentioned in Allibone's Dictionary of Authors. He was a native of Boston, a lawyer by profession, and received the honorary degree of A. M. from Williams College in 1811. After an active life he died in Weathersfield, Vt., Oct. 3, 1836, at the age of 52. About 1815 he settled in Pittsfield, Mass., and for four years he represented that town in

pages 84 & 148 of the Republican. I acknowledge that there is too much ground for the inference you have drawn in regard to those parts of the book; but I have a satisfaction in saying that I have exposed myself to your judicious criticism much more from an unguarded mode of expression than from any difference of opinion between us, in relation to the subject upon which you have remarked.

I have never thought that the judicial power had any superiority or pre-eminence over any branches of the Legislature, or the supreme executive; nor have I considered that power as competent in all cases to control the doings of the legislative or executive departments of government. My idea simply is, that the judicial authority *tends* to keep the administration of government true to its fundamental principles, by *refusing* to give effect to unconstitutional laws, when the rights of citizens litigating depend upon laws the constitutionality of which is questioned. As, for instance, if I am on trial for an offence created by an unconstitutional law, or if my property is taken away from me under colour of a like law, the judges are bound, I apprehend, to "*refuse to give effect*" to such laws, or else my liberty and rights are rather nominal than real. In the exercise of this sort of control, however, great candour is necessary on the part of the judges; they never ought to be rash in questioning the doings of the legislative and executive branches of the government.

I feel much flattered by the concluding line of your

the Massachusetts Legislature, being elected Speaker of the House of Representatives in 1824. The next year he removed to Woburn, and was immediately afterward elected a representative from that town. He was again Speaker of the House for two years. In 1827 he was elected State Treasurer, but declined the appointment. In 1820 he published the volume referred to in the letter here printed. It is a volume of about three hundred pages, entitled "The Republican: a Series of Essays on the Principles and Policy of Free States; having a Particular Reference to the United States of America and the Individual States." A copy is in the Boston Athenæum. See Smith's History of Pittsfield from 1800 to 1876, p. 403; Hough's American Biographical Notes, p. 225; General Catalogue of Williams College, p. 87. — Eds.

letter, in which you are pleased to ask my candid reconsideration of the subject which I have been remarking upon ; adding your belief that I shall come to a candid conclusion. In reply, particularly, to this, I have much satisfaction in saying to you that if I could recall the present edition, I should make such an alteration in pages 84 & 148 as would exclude the inference which now presents itself to the reader.

If, after further consideration of the book, you find other parts of it exceptionable, you would confer a particular favour in suggesting them to me with the most perfect freedom. I am by no means too well informed not to need further instruction ; and I know of no person better able to impart instruction than yourself.

Your letter would have received from me a more early reply had not absence from home on professional business prevented an earlier answer. Accept the assurance of my most sincere respect & esteem.

WILLIAM C. JARVIS.

HON. TH^o JEFFERSON.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO GEORGE A. OTIS.*

MONTICELLO, Dec. 25, 20.

SIR, — I have to thank you for the 2^d vol. of your translation of Botta, which I recieved with your favor of the 5th, on my return home after a long absence. I join Mr. Adams heartily in good wishes for the success of your labors, and hope they will bring you both profit & fame. You have certainly rendered a good service to your country ; & when the superiority of the work over every other on the same subject shall be more known, I think it will be the common manual of our revolutionary

* George Alexander Otis was the son of Dr. Ephraim Otis of Scituate, and was born August 29, 1781. He settled in Boston, and was the author of numerous translations, of which the best known is his translation of Botta's *History of the War of American Independence*. See N. E. Hist. and Gen. Register, vol. iv. p. 151. — Eds.

history. I have not been sensible of the Southern partiality imputed by Mr. Adams to the author. The Southern States as well as Northern did zealously whatever the situation or circumstances of each, or of their sister States, required or permitted, and a relation of what they did is only justice. I disapprove, with Mr. Adams, of the factitious speeches which Botta has composed for R. H. Lee & John Dickinson, speeches which he and I know were never made by these gentlemen. They took a part indeed in that great debate, and I believe we may admit Mr. Dickinson to have been the prominent debater against the measure. But many acted abler parts than R. H. Lee, as particularly Mr. Adams himself did. Mr. Lee was considered as an orator & eloquent, but not in that style which had much weight in such an assembly of men as that Congress was. Frothy, flimsy, verbose, with a musical voice and chaste language, he was a good pioneer, but not an efficient reasoner. This, Mr. Adams can tell you as well as myself. With regard to Botta, I have understood that he has taken some occasion to apologise for these supposititious speeches by pleading the example of the antient historians; and we all know that their practice was to state the reasons for and against a measure in the form of speeches, & put them into the mouths of some eminent character of their selection, who probably had never uttered a word of them. I think the modern practice better of saying it was argued on one side by A, B, C, & others, so and so, and on the other by D, E, F, & others, so and so; giving in this form the reasons for and against the measure. I do not recollect whether Botta has repeated the fault on other occasions. With respect to the speeches in the British Parliament I have taken for granted that he copied or abridged them from the Parliamentary Debates. Mr Adams's criticism on Davila and Hume is just; that the former is an apology for Catharine of Medicis, and the latter of the

Stuarts, to which might be added Robertson's Mary, Queen of Scots. And these odious partialities are much to be lamented; for otherwise they are three of the finest models of historical composition that have been produced since the days of Livy & Tacitus.

Wishing you a full remuneration, either by the profits of your work or by the evidence it may have furnished the government of the degree in which they may avail the public of your services, I salute you with sentiments of esteem & respect.

TH: JEFFERSON.

P. S.— I have just dispatched your two volumes to Mr. Botta, to whom I am sure they will be a gratification.

MR. GEORGE ALEXANDER OTIS.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO MARIA COSWAY.*

Thro' Depm't of State.

MONTICELLO, Dec. 27, 20.

“OVER the length of silence I draw a curtain,” is an expression, my dear friend, of your cherished letter of Apr. 7, 19, of which it might seem I have need to avail myself; but not so really. To 77 heavy years add two of prostrate health during which all correspondence has been suspended of necessity, and you have the true cause of not having heard from me. My wrist, too, dislocated in Paris while I had the pleasure of being there with

* Maria Hadfield was the daughter of an Irishman or Englishman living in Italy, and was born in Florence, but the date of her birth is uncertain; and the date of her death is also unknown. After the death of her father she was brought to England by her mother, and took up miniature painting. In 1781 she exhibited three pictures at the Royal Academy, and in the same year was married to Richard Cosway, then a very fashionable and highly successful artist. She herself obtained great popularity as a painter and etcher, and is mentioned several times in the letters of Horace Walpole. Much of her life is involved in obscurity, but a large part of it was spent on the Continent. There are numerous letters to and from her among the Jefferson Papers, extracts from which are printed in Miss Randolph's *Domestic Life of Thomas Jefferson*. See *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. xii. pp. 278-280. — EDS.

you, is, by the effect of years, now so stiffened that writing is become a most slow and painful operation, and scarcely ever undertaken but under the goad of imperious business. But I have never lost sight of your letter, and give it now the first place among those of my transatlantic friends which have been laying unacknowledged during the same period of ill-health.

I rejoice in the first place that you are well ; for your silence on that subject encourages me to presume it. And next, that you have been so usefully and pleasingly occupied in preparing the minds of others to enjoy the blessings you have yourself derived from the same source, a cultivated mind. Of Mr. Cosway I fear to say any thing, such is the disheartening account of the state of his health given in your letter. But here or wherever, I am sure he has all the happiness which an honest life ensures. Nor will I say any thing of the troubles of those among whom you live. I see they are great, and wish them happily out of them, and especially that you may be safe and happy, whatever be their issue. I will talk about Monticello, then, and my own country, as is the wish expressed in your letter. My daughter Randolph, whom you knew in Paris a young girl, is now the mother of 11 living children, the grandmother of about half a dozen others, enjoys health and good spirits, and sees the worth of her husband attested by his being at present Governor of the State in which we live. Among these, I live like a patriarch of old. Our friend Trumbull is well, & profitably & honorably employed by his country in commemorating with his pencil some of its revolutionary honors. Of Mrs. Cruger I hear nothing, nor for a long time of Mad^e de Corny. Such is the present state of our former coterie : dead, diseased, & dispersed. But “*tout ce qui est difféé n'est pas perdu*,” says the French proverb, and the religion you so sincerely profess tells us we shall meet again ; and we have all so lived as to be assured it will

be in happiness. Mine is the next turn, and I shall meet it with good will, for after one's friends are all gone before them, and our faculties leaving us too one by one, why wish to linger in mere vegetation, — as a solitary trunk in a desolate field, from which all it's former companions have disappeared? You have many good years remaining yet to be happy yourself and to make those around you happy. May these, my dear friend, be as many as yourself may wish, and all of them filled with health and happiness, will be among the last & warmest wishes of an unchangeable friend.

TH : JEFFERSON.

Mrs. MARIA COSWAY.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO WILLIAM THORNTON.

MONTICELLO, Jan. 19, 21.

DEAR SIR, — Your letter of the 9th was 19 days in it's passage to me, being received yesterday evening only; and now that I have recieved it, I wish that I could answer it more to your satisfaction. I must explain to you my situation. When I retired from office at Washington, my intimacy with my successor being well known, I became the center of application from all quarters, by those who wished appointments, to use my interposition in their favor. I gave into it for a while, until I found that I must for ever keep myself prostrate, and in the posture of a suppliant before the government, or renounce altogether the office of an intercessor. I determined on the latter; and the number of applicants obliged me to have a formal letter printed in blank, to which I had only to put date, signature, and address. I inclose you one of these in proof of the necessity I was under of laying down such a law to myself, and of a rigorous adherence to it. I comfort myself, however, in your case with the unimportance of any interposition. You are so well known to the Presi-

dent and heads of departments that they need no body's information as to your qualifications and means of service. Where they know facts themselves they will act on their own judgments, and in your case particularly with every disposition in your favor; and whatever they shall do for you will give no one greater pleasure than myself.

I am much indebted to you for the pamphlet of patents. It is a document which I have often occasion to consult. With my respectful souvenirs to the ladies of your family, I pray you to accept the assurance of my continued esteem and attachment.

TH: JEFFERSON.

Dr THORNTON.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO JOHN TAYLOR.*

Free. Th: Jefferson. Col: John Taylor, Portroyal.

MONTICELLO, Feb. 14, 21.

DEAR SIR, — . . . I recieved some time ago from Mr. Ritchie, in your name & his, a copy of your late work on the Constitution of the U. S. I returned him my thanks, & begged they might be communicated to yourself thro' the same channel.† But I am glad to avail myself of this opportunity of doing it directly, and with the more pleasure after having read the book, and acquired a knolege of it's value. I have no hesitation in saying that it carries us back to the genuine principles of the Constitution more demonstratively than any work published since the date of that instrument. It pulverises the sophistries of the judges on bank taxation, and of the 5 lawyers on lotteries. This last act of venality (for it

* The original of this letter is in the collection of autographs given to the Society by Mr. and Mrs. A. C. Washburn. The first part of the letter relates to the pecuniary circumstances in which the family of Wilson C. Nicholas were left at his death, and has therefore been omitted. — Eds.

† The letter to Thomas Ritchie here referred to is printed in Washington's edition of the Writings of Thomas Jefferson, vol. vii. pp. 191-193. — Eds.

cannot be of judgment) makes me ashamed that I was ever a lawyer. I have suggested to a friend in the legislature that that body should send a copy of your book to every one of our Representatives & Senators in Congress as a standing instruction, and with a declaration that it contains the catholic faith, which whosoever doth not keep whole & undefiled, without doubt he shall perish everlastingly.

Our University labors hard to come into existence. I am surprised it finds enemies in the colleges, academies, & private classical schools throughout the State, as if inimical to them. But it becomes in truth their foundation, not their rival. It leaves to them the field of classical preparation, not proposing to turn itself into a grammar school. It leaves to them that middle degree of instruction in geography, surveying, grammar, &c., which will be called for by the great body of those who cannot afford or who do not wish an University education. We shall receive only those subjects who desire the highest degree of instruction, for which they now go to Harvard, Princeton, N. York, & Philadelphia. These seminaries are no longer proper for Southern or Western students. The signs of the times admonish us to call them home. If knolege is power, we should look to it's advancement at home, where no resource of power will be unwanting. This may not be in my day; but probably will in yours. God send to our country a happy deliverance, and to yourself health, and as long a life as yourself shall wish.

TH: JEFFERSON.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO ———.*

MONTICELLO, Nov. 24, 21.

DEAR SIR,— Your welcome favor of the 12th came to hand two days ago. I was just returned from Poplar Forest, which I have visited four times this year. I have an excellent house there, inferior only to Monticello, am comfortably fixed and attended, have a few good neighbors, and pass my time there in a tranquility and retirement, much adapted to my age and indolence. You so kindly ask an explanation of the illness which held me so long that I feel it a duty to give it. Having been long subject to local and slight affections of rheumatism, and being at Staunton on other business, I thought I would go to the Warmsprings and eradicate the *seeds* of it, for I was then in perfect health. I used the bath moderately for three weeks. I was not quick enough, however, in observing the gradual debility it was bringing on me. At length it produced a general eruption and imposthume. After a painful journey I got home unable to walk without help, and the debility and indisposition rapidly increased and reduced me to death's door. Swelled legs began to threaten dropsy, aided by a prostration of the visceral powers. Abandoning medicine, however, and fortifying my legs by bandages continued 8 or 10 months, I am at length entirely recovered, and suppose myself as well as I ever shall be. I am very little able to walk, but ride freely without fatigue. No better proof than that on a late visit to the Natural Bridge I was six

* This letter is printed from the polygraph copy in Jefferson's own hand, which bears no indication of the person to whom it was addressed. But there can be no doubt that it was written in answer to a letter from William Short, dated Philadelphia, Nov. 12, 1821, now in the Department of State at Washington, and calendared as follows, "Wishes to have direct intelligence as to his health and about the university, in which he takes great interest. His dislike of Mr. Madison. Governor Mercer's bad health. Le Roy de Chaumont's estate. Tour on the great canal from Utica to Rome (N. Y.)." See Bulletin of the Bureau of Rolls and Library of the Department of State. No. 8. p. 499. — Eds.

days successively on horseback from breakfast to sunset. You enquire also about our University. All it's buildings except the Library will be finished by the ensuing spring. It will be a splendid establishment, would be thought so in Europe, and for the chastity of it's architecture and classical taste leaves everything in America far behind it. But the Library, not yet begun, is essentially wanting to give it unity and consolidation as a single object. It will have cost in the whole but 250,000 D. The library is to be on the principle of the Pantheon, a sphere within a cylinder of 70 f. diameter, — to wit, one half only of the dimensions of the Pantheon, and of a single order only. When this is done you must come and see it. I do not admire your Canada speculation. I think, with Mr. Rittenhouse, that it is altogether unaccountable how any man can stay in a cold country who can find room in a warm one, and should certainly prefer, to polar regions of ice and snow, lands as fertile and cheap which may be covered with groves of olives and oranges. I envy M. Chaumont nothing but his French cook & cuisine. These are luxuries which can neither be forgotten nor possessed in our country. Our State has been visited by a sporadic fever of a most extraordinary character, if a thing so diversified can be said to have any character. In some places rapid & mortal, in others tedious and of little danger. It has prevailed too almost solely in the mountainous regions, — Harper's-Ferry, Loudon, Orange, Buckingham, Bedford, Botetourt. At the Big Lick in the last county it was stopped only by the compleat extermination of every human being living at the place, 42 in number. It is at length disappearing in most places. Our Visitors meet the ensuing week, and you will see in the public papers their annual report to the legislature on the state of the University, which will give you more particular views of it than I have done. We hear not a word of Correa, and it is long since I have heard of Charles Thompson.

You would gratify me greatly by a minute account of his condition, which you can readily obtain where you are. You say nothing of your own health, whence I presume it good, and that it may continue so thro' as long a life as yourself shall wish is the prayer of your ever affectionate friend,

TH: JEFFERSON.

GEORGE TICKNOR TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Thomas Jefferson, Esq., Monticello, Albermarle Co., Virginia.

Boston, Dec. 8, 1821.

DEAR SIR,— Your favours of Sep. 28th, with an enclosure, and Oct. 24, introducing two young gentlemen, came in due season. The latter I have acknowledged in the way you desired, by offering the persons you presented me such assistance as they needed; & having found them lodgings they liked and suitable instructors, they are, I believe, as well off as their friends could have reasonably anticipated, and seem disposed to improve the opportunities we are able to give them in their respective studies. It will always afford me very high pleasure to be able to return to any of your friends or any persons connected with them some portion of the kindness & protection you have so often shown me.

The petition to Congress to remove the duty on books is now, I hope, in train to be presented. The very day I received your's of Sep. 28, I wrote the Memorial, a copy of which goes with this letter, and the next day I had it presented to the Corporation, who accepted it and directed the President to commence the necessary correspondence to give it effect. Owing to his habits of procrastination, however, though desirous to carry on the project, & frequently urged to it by myself, he never got it ready till just a week since. Now, I believe, the circulars are sent, and I hope the attempt may yet be

made with success at the present Congress. It is, I think, of great importance; and, if you think of any further means to facilitate it, we shall be much gratified if you will use them, or suggest them to us, that we may avail ourselves of them.

I wish there were any good prospect of succeeding in the other project, touching the duty on wines of an inferior quality, which you endeavoured to get reduced. The physical constitution of our people as a body, is, I doubt not, already affected by intemperance; and if the consumption of spirituous liquors should increase for thirty years to come at the rate it has for thirty years back we should be hardly better than a nation of sots. Great exertions have been made in this quarter of the country to diminish the evil by moral means, and the people are alarmed; but, though some effect has been produced, we have not much reason to be seriously encouraged. All good men, therefore, are ready here to cooperate with you in any project you may have, tending to check the progress of this wasting habit.

I am very anxious to hear more about your University, and to learn something of its success. Every day persuades me anew of the truth of an opinion I have long held, that at Cambridge we never shall become what we might be very easily unless we are led or driven to it by a rival. I see no immediate prospect of such a rival, except in your University, & therefore I long to have it in successful operation.

Gov. Randolph and all your family I hope are well. I beg to be remembered to them with great respect & gratitude. As I am now married and established in Boston, I hope I may have the opportunity of sometimes showing hospitality to some of your or their friends who may come this way. Few things would give me more pleasure.

Yrs. with great respect,

GEO: TICKNOR.

Mr. JEFFERSON.

CHAPMAN JOHNSON TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Thomas Jefferson, Esquire, Monticello. Mr. Cabell.

RICHMOND, 29 March, 1822.

DEAR SIR, — I am very sorry that is not in my power to be with you at the meeting of the Visitors on Monday next; I am unexpectedly spancelled in a criminal prosecution here, from which I cannot be released. Mr Cabell, however, who does me the favor to carry you this letter, will be able to give you more information than I should as to the proceedings of the legislature and the temper of the members on the subject of the University.

Will you allow me to make a suggestion to you, and through you to the board, on one subject which will probably claim your attention at the approaching meeting, — the rotunda?

This building I regard as a necessary part of our plan, and sooner or later it must be erected. But it does not appear to me to be indispensable to the commencement of the institution. If, however, we had the funds for its immediate completion, I should not hesitate a moment in thinking that we ought to build it without delay. But in the present condition of our funds, and in the actual state of the public mind in relation to our institution, I am thoroughly persuaded that considerations of prudence and of sound policy absolutely forbid us from contracting for the laying or the making of a single brick for this building at this time, and recommend the appropriation of all our means to the completion of the buildings already undertaken, and to preparation for putting the University into immediate operation. If we could come before the legislature at their next session with information that accommodations for ten professors and more than two hundred students were prepared; that if our

debt were paid we should be prepared to open the institution; that the building for the library and other useful purposes, which could be dispensed with in the commencement, would be indispensable in the progress of the institution, if it should prosper; and that in that event it would be necessary at some convenient time to provide funds for it, — I think it not improbable that the debt would be remitted if nothing more could be done. But I do believe that if we persist in the erection of this building at this time, we put at great hazard the future patronage of the legislature, and I am exceedingly afraid of exasperating public feeling upon this subject. I know that Mr Cabell entertains the opinion that the erection of this building at this time is more generally approved than I suppose it to be. This opinion, however, should be well examined before it is adopted. The indications of it are calculated to deceive. Our rivals would advise it, to postpone the time of our commencement, and to multiply the chances of our defeat. Our enemies would advise it for the same reasons, and many of our friends approve it because, willing to go all lengths for us themselves, they hope that the legislature may be prevailed upon to sanction it. But I do know that some of our warm friends are decidedly opposed to it; and depend upon it, we have not a single vote to lose. On the contrary, we must make friends in order to gain the favor of the legislature.

Excuse me, if you please. I will waste no more of your time.

Very respectfully,

Your obt. sv^t.

C: JOHNSON.

JOHN H. COLEMAN TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

*The Hon^{ble} Thomas Jefferson, Monticello, near Charlottesville,
Virginia.*

PARIS, BOURBON COUNTY, KENTUCKY, July 16th, 1822.

THE HON^{BLE} THOMAS JEFFERSON :

SIR, — I flatter myself that you will not be displeased at the liberty I take of troubling you with this communication. There is at this time an interesting and important political question that agitates to a great degree the body politic of our State; and knowing the sincere and heartfelt interest that you have ever entertained for our common country, I have concluded that you might not be disinterested in a matter so important to a Western State. This question has arisen from the pecuniary embarrassments of our State, and has assumed a shape that is well calculated to alarm the friends and Republicans of our gov^t. A discord exists between our Legislative and Judicial departments. The Legislature in 1820 enacted a law establishing the "*Commonwealth's Bank*." As there was no specie deposited in its vaults the paper soon after it's issue began to depreciate; but as the measure was a very popular one, at our next session a law was passed requiring a plaintiff who had recovered judgment to endorse upon his execution when issued that the paper of that Bank should be taken in discharge thereof; and if this step was not taken that the debt should have a right to replevy the debt for two years, to be discharged in specie.

This law was opposed by some of our citizens; and a party who had recovered judgment for a debt brought the question before our Circuit Court by moving to quash a replevy bond, on the grounds that the law authorizing the proceedings was contrary to the Federal and State constitutions. The judge decided the law to be *unconstitutional*. The Legislature were then in session, and pro-

ceeded *instantly* to act upon the business in a manner which you will observe by a perusal of the document which I have taken the liberty herewith to communicate. In the lengthy discussion upon the subject our members referred to that excellent authority written by yourself in "*Notes of Virginia*," where you so perspicuously shew the relative nature and duty of the several departments of our well organized gov^t. This authority would have been conclusive, but the supporters of the law attempted to diminish its influence by producing a letter which you have lately written to Mr. Jarvis, who has recently composed a political work;* and they relied upon that part of your letter in which you remark: "You seem in pages 84 & 148 to consider the judges the ultimate arbiters of all constitutional questions; a very dangerous doctrine indeed, and one that would place us under the despotism of an oligarchy." They further attempted to shew that by the tenor of that letter that if a judge should decide a law unconstitutional, that the Legislature were required by a sense of duty to remove him from office, if they deemed the law essential and important to promote the happiness of the country. All men admit that "*Salus populi Lex suprema*," but most politicians would contend that if a law is passed in contravention to the constitution that that instrument must be impaired and paralyzed if the law is enforced; and that however great may be the necessity of the law, that where there is a discrepancy between the law and the Constitution that the latter must *prevail*, untill it is regularly altered or amended.

I sincerely apologize, Sir, for troubling you with this communication, and would not have written it, but in consideration of the very high esteem and veneration in which I hold your character as a statesman and a Repub-

* See *ante*, p. 298. — Eds.

lican, and beleiving that, although your personal interest may not in the slightest degree be effected, that you still retain that general and patriotic feeling, and those orthodox principles of liberty and equality which have been so proudly cherished by the Western people. Pardon me, Sir, for making the request that, if it is not inconsistent with your feelings or convenience, that you will give me an answer and communicate, even briefly, your views upon this political subject. I wish to make no public use of it; but as I am a young man and meet with some difficulty upon the subject, it would be highly gratifying to know y^r. sentiments. My father, who (when living) was your warm personal friend, taught me when a youth to cherish the noble principles that you dictated for your countrymen, and since I arrived to the age of maturity I am confirmed in the rectitude of his precepts.

Accept, Sir, the assurances of my highest respect and best wishes that the evening of your life may be as tranquil as the meridian of it was useful.

Very respectfully,

Your hum^{ble} serv^t.

JOHN H. COLEMAN.

THOMAS COOPER TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

COLUMBIA, SOUTH CAROLINA, Oct^r 18th, 1822.

DEAR SIR,—I spent the three months of vacation at this college in an excursion to various parts of the State of Pennsylvania, chiefly for the purpose of attending to some land concerns in which I am interested. I write to you now for the purpose of giving you some idea of the progress of fanatacism, which I could not have figured to myself if I had not had the advantage of extensive personal observation. When I lived at Northumberland with D^r Priestley, a more social place could not well be

imagined. The harmony of private society was hardly interrupted by politics, and not at all by religion. Presbyterians, Methodists, Seceders, Baptists, Unitarians, and Episcopalians lived together, and mixed freely in society. At present, owing to the predominant influence of the Presbyterian preachers, over the women particularly, whom they tempt out to nightly sermons & prayer meetings, I was invited to, and compelled to visit my old friends, not collected in social parties, but in detail. The heads of families of one sect keep aloof from those of another; and the bitterness & intolerance of theological hatred reigns in full force. I found this the case at Northumberland, at Sunbury, at Reading, at Harrisburgh, and in every place without exception wherever I enquired into the fact. At Harrisburgh these religious parties occupy *every* evening, and the meeting houses are crowded with women, while the taverns are equally crowded with such of their husbands as revolt at these works of supererogation. Judge Franks, who boarded at the same tavern at Harrisburgh that I did (for he was there holding his courts at the time), told me that he was induced not merely to subscribe to each of these fanatics, but to attend frequently their meetings, lest a character for irreligion should attach to him as judge. He told me that a short time before I saw him he had heard a sermon one evening at Harrisburgh, from a Mr De Witt, a Presbyterian clergyman from New York, in which the preacher declared that a man might be a good citizen, a good father, a good husband, a good neighbour, charitable, benevolent, and observant of every moral duty, — nay, he might sedulously & conscientiously attend all the ordinances of religion as a means of saving grace, but if he were not one of the elect according to the foreknowledge of God before the foundations of the world were laid, all his endeavours were not only unavailing, but savoured of sin. I well know this is in conformity with Puritan orthodoxy, and is to be

found in the articles of the Church of England as well as among the Calvinistic Presbyterians ; but if there be any doctrine calculated to demoralize society, to make the good bad and the wicked worse, it is such a doctrine as this.

The same tenets and the same practices prevail all through North Carolina & the upper parts of this State, and very strongly indeed in the town of Columbia, where I live. Our college has 2 Presbyterian, and one Roman Catholic professor, and I go *regularly* to the Episcopal Church with my family. But because the professors here live in mutual tolerance and harmony this college is openly and publicly denounced as void of all religion. Yet I know not where prayers are more enforced morning or evening among the students, or attended more regularly by the faculty. I go now to prayers every morning, but not in an evening, as my lectures are not over till 3 o'clock in the afternoon.

I find in New York State every where, where I have been or from whence I have received information, that there is a public, avowed, persevering attempt among the Presbyterians to establish a system of tythes ; this is brought forward in many publications ; at Utica, in N. Yk. State, and in South Carolina, as well as intermediate places. Equally decided and persevering is the attempt of the same sect to acquire the command over every seminary of education, and finally to attempt, in favour of the Presbyterians, a *Church establishment*. Of these designs on the part of that sect I am as fully persuaded as I am of my own existence ; and what is worse, I greatly fear they will succeed. The people, not aware of the frauds committed, are the gross dupes of missionary societies, Bible societies, and theological seminaries ; and every head of a family of a religious turn, or in any way connected with that sect, must submit to the power these parsons have acquired, — acquired by making the females

of the families which they are permitted to enter the engines of their influence over the male part. I foresee another night of superstition, not far behind the Inquisition; for so rancorously is every opponent calumniated that the persecution becomes gradually irresistible, and the men who hate these impostors & their frauds are actually compelled to bow down to them. I look around me, and knowing, as I do, the general prevalence of liberal opinions on religious subjects among well educated men, I regard with absolute horror the system of simulation and dissimulation which they are compelled to adopt; and I cannot help exclaiming with Lucretius:—

“Tantum hæc religio potuit suadere malorum!”

In the college here, the industry of the faculty is *exemplary*, their competence undeniable, but the cry is gone forth, “There is no religion among them,” & I greatly fear it will make the college totter to its fall; for utterly false as it is, the want of prayer meetings and religious revivals will be accepted as undeniable evidence of the charge. In hopes of hearing that things are not quite so bad in Virginia, I sit down to communicate my fears and forebodings. In the State of Pennsylvania I see no prospect of amendment; for the prevailing doctrine is that a collegiate education is good only for the rich, and they ought to obtain it at their own expence without any legislative aid.

M. Correa, I find, is compelled to fly to Paris, being too much attached to the royal cause for the present crisis.

I hope your health keeps yet good, and that you still enjoy enough of life to make it desirable.

May God bless you.

THOMAS COOPER.

S. Carolina College.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO WILLIAM TUDOR.*

Free. Th: Jefferson. William Tudor, Esq., Boston.

MONTICELLO, Feb. 14, 23.

SIR, — I have duly recieved your favor of Jan. 24, and with that a copy of your life of James Otis, for which be pleased to accept my thanks. The character of Mr. Otis, the subject of this work, is one which I have always been taught to hold in high estimation, and I have no doubt that the volume will on perusal be found worthy of it's subject. With respect to the part of it respecting Dr. Franklin, on which you ask my opinion particularly, I have perused it with attention, and as far as my personal acquaintance authorises me to say, I think it generally just & correct. Of one point, however, I was not aware, to wit, that the Dr. came more tardily into the idea of resistance by arms than others generally. When he returned from England and took his first seat in Congress, which was before our second petition to the king, he was as forward as any of us; and he first laid on our table a form of confederation. However, it is very possible that while he continued in England, surrounded by the appalling means of that powerful nation, and compared them with ours, he might have doubts whether the array in arms might not be better postponed awhile. On this subject, however, I have no particular information. With my thanks for the copy of your work, be pleased to accept the assurance of my great esteem & respect.

TH: JEFFERSON.

* The Historical Society owns the original draught of this letter (in the collection of Jefferson Papers given by Mr. Coolidge in June, 1898), and also the letter actually sent (in the collection of Tudor Papers given by Mrs. Fenno Tudor in April, 1881). In the draught a few words were abbreviated, and two or three slight verbal changes were made when the letter was written out. The letter is here printed from the perfected copy. — Eds.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO THOMAS COX.*

MONTG. June 3, 23.

SIR,—I have duly recieved your favor of May 2, and since that the 20 bottles of Scuppernon wine you have been so kind as to forward. I am gratified too to learn that the two casks of that wine furnished me heretofore thro the friendly agency of Col^o. Burton were from you. They were really fine. I had urgently pressed on him that there should be no cookery on them of brandy, sugar, or other medicament, and as far as my palate can discriminate they are pure. All the samples of this wine which I have seen except these two and one other, have been so adulterated with brandy & sugar as to be mere juleps, and not wine; and candor obliges me to say that the 20 bottles now recieved are so charged with brandy, perhaps too with sugar, as that the vinous flavor is lost and absorbed. There will never be a drinkable wine made in this country until this barbarous practice is discontinued of adulterating with brandy. It is the result of a taste vitiated by the use of ardent spirits. I shall be gratified indeed if permitted to apply to you for my supplies from time to time of this wine which I so much esteem, under an absolute assurance that there shall be nothing in it but the pure juice of the grape. If there be any fear that it will not keep without brandy, let that be my risk.

Your offer is the more acceptable as I find that your correspondent in Richm^d. and mine is the same. Col^o B. Peyton will always pay on demand the cost of the wine on your draught and the general instruction which I will send him, and I shall be glad to recieve now a 30 gallon cask as soon as you can furnish it with a certainty of it's

* This letter is printed from the original draught, which is indorsed in Jefferson's hand "Cox, Tho^s. Plymouth, N. C., June 3, 23." — EDS.

purity, adding to your draught for it's cost that of the 20 bottles recently recieved.

I am not sfftly. acquainted with the process of wine making in France to give you any useful informñ on the subject. This fact only I know, that no man who makes a wine of reputation in that country would put a teaspoonful of brandy into it were you to offer him a guinea a bottle for it, because, as he says, it would for ever destroy the character of his wine. This opeñ is always performed by the exporting merchant, and those of Bourdeaux expressed their astonishment to me at the instructions they always recieved from American customers to put such a proportion of brandy into the wines they called for. It will be a satisfaction to me to learn from yourself that you can furnish me with this wine with an assurance that it shall be pure and unadulterated. Accept my salutñs of esteem & respect.

TH: J.

P. S. — What is deemed the age of perfect ripeness of this wine, and the proper one for drinking it ?

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO JAMES MONROE.*

M^o. June 14, 23.

DEAR SIR, — The reasons assigned in your favor of the 7th for preferring to retain Loudon instead of Albemarle are such as cannot be controverted. The society of our children is the sovereign balm of life, and the older we grow the more we need it to fill up the void made by the daily losses of the companions and friends of our youth. Nor ought we of this ñborhood to regret a preference so conducive to your own happiness. We must submit, as in

* This letter is printed from a rough draught, with numerous omissions and interlineations. — Eds.

other cases, to unwelcome occurrences, and hope that in the endeavor to retain a part of the estate here we see a possibility of your visiting us occasionally. To me the loss will be greater than to younger persons. Age & debility have obliged me to put all my affairs into the hands of my grandson.* Even a daily ride, necessary to keep up my health and spirits, is now at a loss for objects to encourage it. To have terminated it sometimes at Oakwood with a half hour's conversn̄ with those whose minds, familiarised with the same scenes, would range with sympathy over the same topics, would have chequered the monotony of a country life disengaged from country occupn̄s. The University, indeed, gives me some welcome employment. If the legislature will declare at once to have given what they have hitherto called a loan, so that I may see the instn̄ opened on the high ground I have ever contemplated, I shall sing my nunc dimittes with pleasure.

The case in which you have so kindly endeavored to mediate is too long for explanation by letter. I must reserve it for conversn̄ when we meet again. In the mean while no time is lost, for as long as the party continues his present habits there would be neither satisfn̄ nor safety in his society; and his reclamation from them I believe to be absolutely desperate. This, however, does not lessen our sense of the kindness and frdsh̄p of your wish to relieve us from the most constant & poignant affliction of our lives. And with the assurance of our gratitude for this, accept that of my constant & cordial frdsh̄p & respect.

TH: J.

President MONROE.

* Thomas Jefferson Randolph, eldest son of Thomas Mann and Martha (Jefferson) Randolph. He was born at Monticello, Sept. 12, 1792, and died at Edge Hill, Oct. 8, 1875. — Eds.

JOSHUA DODGE* TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

BOSTON, 7 July, 1823.

ESTEEMED SIR, — I take the liberty of informing you of my arrival in this city a few days since, highly gratified with my journey to the southward, & particularly with the truly hospitable State of Virginia, which in fact is the land of hospitality. I no longer wonder at the attachment every one who has visited that State expresses towards it, for it is impossible for a stranger to visit it without feeling proud & gratified at the attentions he has received. The free manner in which every Virginian converses, expressing openly & candidly whatever his sentiments may be, whether on the subject of politics or religion, gave me the highest opinion of the manner in which your young men are brought up. It gives me pleasure to say that the Unitarian religion in the New England States has been the means of breaking the strong grasp of superstition which formerly disgraced this part of the Union, & I have observed with sincere pleasure that the Eastern young men now begin to think for themselves on that subject as well as on politics, & the important change lately effected in the politics of this State has been chiefly owing to the exertions of its young citizens; they have deserved well of their country, for they have restored their native State to its rank in the Union. Federalism has received its death blow, & Republicanism is now triumphant throughout our common country; the Essex Junto has been driven from its strong hold, & now lies growling in the dust, where possibly it may bark a little, but as the old proverb says, “barking

* Joshua Dodge was a native of Salem, Mass., and was for some years American consul at Marseilles, where he was in business as a commission merchant with Thomas Oxnard, a native of Portland, Maine, under the firm-name of Dodge & Oxnard. He transacted considerable business for Jefferson; and there are several letters from him relating to shipments of oil and wine. — EDS.

dogs seldom bite." Respecting Spain, there appears but one sentiment, which is, destruction to the French invading army, & success to the Constitutional Spaniards. The Spaniards have done well in suffering the French to advance, by that means weakening the Duke d'Angoulême, who is obliged to leave sufficient troops behind him to keep up the communication with France; & consequently the farther d'Angoulême advances, the more sure prey he becomes to the Spaniards. I enclose you a piece wrote by a friend of mine on this subject, which was shown to me before printing & met my approbation. Be pleased to present my most respectful compliments to Mr & Mrs Randolph, & to your grand children; I shall never forget the happy, happy days I passed at Monticello. A general war will soon take place in Europe; the people are determined to be free; the North of Italy, France, the Low Countries & part of Germany must & will have free & written constitutions. England will be obliged to place herself at the head of these constitutional governments, in order to protect herself as well as them against the destructive grasp of Russia. Under the present despotic governments in Europe the people care little whether they are governed by Alexander or by any other despot (no consequence what his name may be), if they are not benefitted themselves by the change; & as Europe is now governed they will not defend the country of their tyrants, & at any moment Europe may become the prey of Alexander. England must then pay for all her sins against the rights of man; this she knows & in her own defence (not that she wishes to give liberty to Europe) she must come forward & place herself at the head of the constitutional movements in Europe; for it is only under the banners of liberty that the people will join heart & hand in defending what will then become their country. I took tea last evening with the venerable Mr Adams, & presented him your compliments; he was very happy

to hear from you, still more so in seeing a person who had had the pleasure of passing some days in your hospitable mansion. I should consider it a high honour to receive a letter from you; but I hardly dare ask that favour, knowing the immense number of more valuable correspondents that you have, & which occupies the greatest part of your time; but should you honour me with an answer I shall esteem it as a particular favour. My address is care of P. P. F. Degrand, Boston. I shall embark in October next for Marseilles, & until then I calculate to pass my time in this part of my country. I remain, my dear Sir,

Yours most sincerely,

JOSH^A DODGE.

TO THOMAS JEFFERSON, Esq.
Monticello,
Virginia.

THOMAS COX TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

PLYMOUTH, 16th July, 1823.

RESPECTED SIR,—An excursion in the upper part of our State, which kept me some time from home, has prevented an earlier reply to your letter of the 3rd June.

It will give me great pleasure to have you 30 gallons of the grape-juice put up in the best stile and entirely unmixed with any other substance. The season for procuring it is in October, and previous to that time I will make arrangements with Mr James Ambrose (who is a man of very fair character, & said to be the first manufacturer of Scuppernong wine in this State) to put up the juice for you. About two years since I persuaded this gentleman to distill one barrel juice to add to a proportion of the juice not distill'd so as to make a bbl. wine for you, and which I thought would be greatly superior to the common mixture of apple brandy. Mr Ambrose made the attempt,

but lost both barrels juice, by carelessly putting about 2 gallons *green* grapes with those which were to be expressed for distillation. He did not offer me the bbl. wine when made, as he knew I wanted it for you.

Some attempts have been made before now to preserve the juice without the addition of some stronger liquid, but in all cases that ever I have known the juice becomes flat & insipid. It will gradually restore itself if suffered to remain unmoved, but I have never known an instance where it was permitted to remain more than a twelve month & which is not long enough to make a fair proof of it. I am, however, of opinion that a small portion of brandy, say 2 gallons to the barrel, instead of 6 gals., the usual quantity, w^d have a tendency to preserve the juice better. The 2 bbls. I sent you some time since had about 5 gals. brandy each.

If I have no further instructions on the subject I will have a 30 gal. cask *pure juice* put up in October & sent to Col. Peyton first opportunity.

I have never seen any of this wine of more than three years standing, & that had so much improved, it scarcely seemed to be the same wine. In no case have I ever known sugar put in.

With sentiments of high respect,

I am, Sir, y^r mo. ob. serv^t.

THOMAS COX.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, Esquire.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO JOSHUA DODGE.

Mont^o, Aug. 3, 23.

DEAR SIR, — I am happy by your favor of July 7, to hear from you after your tour thro' so much of the U. S., and particularly to recieve the result of your observations of the general ascendancy of republicanism and of good dis-

positions towards Spain. The two sentiments spring from the same root. The republican regeneration of Massachusetts gives me real joy. The union of New England and Virginia alone carried us thro' the revolution. Five steady votes were given by them on every question, and we picked up scatterers from the other less decided States which always secured a majority. Since that we are become aliens and almost hostile ; and why ? I know not. Virginia has never swerved a hair's breadth from the line of republicanism & Americanism. Massachusetts has strayed a little into the paths of federalism & Anglicism ; but a good portion of her citizens have always remained loyal to true principles ; they have brought their wandering brethren back again to their fold, and we joyfully receive them with the fraternal embrace. We shall now, I hope, feel towards each other the sentiments which united us in the revolution and become again truly brethren of the same principle.

I am just recovered from an illness of 3 weeks, and am obliged to borrow the pen of another to assure you of my great esteem & respect.

TH : J.

P. S. Mr. Degrand has been so kind as to inform me that he received and forwarded my duplicate letters to your house for my annual supplies.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO THOMAS COX.

Mo. Sep. 5, 23.

DEAR SIR, — Your favor of July 16, was rec^d in due time, and I am thankful for the trouble you propose to undertake to procure for me at this ensuing vintage a barrel of the Scuppernon pure juice without any adulterⁿ of brandy or other thing. I would wish it to be sent early in November when it will be endangered by neither

the heat or cold of the season. I will give that cask a fair trial, as well whether it will keep without brandy as to ascertain at what age it is properly ripe for use. I have drunk it at 4 y. old, and it was the best I ever drank. I believe it is a wine which requires a certain age, and if it improves with age it is a proof it has a body of it's own, not needing brandy. As this is destined for a distant time I must ask the favor of you to procure me a couple of quarter casks for immediate use. Let them be as old & with as little brandy as can be found, and if the mixture be of French instead of apple brandy I shall gladly pay the difference of their cost. I think it worth while to go to the expence of double casking them to guard against adulterñ on their passage. If you will be so good as to forward them to Col^o B. Peyton of Richm^d, & to draw on him on my account for their cost he will honour your draught. If this wine can mature itself without being brandied, it will attain a high character. Otherwise it must still be unbrandied and drunk at the age to which it will keep itself; for the brandy flavor in wine will never satisfy a practised palate. Accept the tender of my great esteem & respect,

TH: J.

Mr THOMAS COX,
Plymouth, N. C.

MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Thomas Jefferson, Monticello, State of Virginia.

LA GRANGE, December 20th, 1823.

MY DEAR FRIEND, — It is a very long while since my eyes were gratified with a sight of your hand writing; I know that occupation is a fatigue to you, and would not be importunate. But when you indulge the pleasure to converse with absent friends, remember few are as old, and none can be more happy than I am in the testimonies of your welfare and affection.

Every account I receive from the U. S. is a compensation for European disappointments and disgusts. There our revolutionary hopes have been fulfilled, and altho' I must admire the observations of such a witness as my friend Jefferson, we may enjoy the happy thought that never a nation has been so compleatly free, so rapidly prosperous, so generally enlightned. Look, on the contrary, to old Europe. Spain, Portugal, Italy, amidst the patriotic wishes of the less ignorant part of the people and the noble sentiments of a few distinguished characters, have shown themselves unequal to a regeneration, less on account of the criminal attacks of a diabolical Alliance and the perfidious friendships of Great Britain, than because the great masses are still under the influence of prejudice, superstition, vicious habits, and because intrigue and corruption have found their way among the aristocratical part of their patriots. German patriotism and philanthropy evaporates in romantic ideology; two nations alone, French and English, or one of them, could take the lead in European emancipation. But in England both Whigs and Tories are tenacious of a double aristocracy, their own with respect to the Commoners, that of their island over all the countries of the earth. There is, I am told, more liberality among their Radicals; but hitherto we must take them at their word, as power is elsewhere, and they do nothing to obtain it. You have been a sharer, my dear friend, in my enthusiastic French hopes; you have seen the people of France truly a great nation, when the rights of mankind, proclaimed, conquered, supported by a whole population, were set up as a new imported American doctrine, for the instruction and example of Europe, when they might have been the sole object and the glorious price of a first irresistible impulsion, which has since been spent into other purposes by the subsequent vicissitudes of government; the triple counter revolution of Jacobinism, Bonapartism, and Bour-

bonism, in the first of which disguised Aristocracy had also a great part, has worn out the springs of energetic patriotism. The French people are better informed, less prejudiced, more at their ease on the point of property, industry, habits of social equality in many respects, than before the Revolution. But from the day when the National Constitution, made, sworn, worshipped by themselves, was thrown down on a level with the edicts of arbitrary kings, to the present times, when a *chartre octroyée* is invoked by the more liberal among our publicists, so many political heresies have been professed, so dismal instances of popular tyranny are remembered, so able institutions of despotism have crushed all resistance, that, if you except our young generations, egotism and apathy, not excluding general discontent, are the prevailing disposition. In the mean while all adversaries of mankind, — coalesced kings, British aristocrats, Continental nobles, Coblenz emigrants, restored Jesuits, are pushing their plot with as much fury but more cunning than they had hitherto evinced. Emperor Alexander is now the chief of European counter revolution; what he and his allies will do, either in concert or in competition with England, to spoil the game of Greece, and to annoy the new republics of America, I do not know; but altho' the policy of the U. S. has been hitherto very prudent, it seems to me they cannot remain wholly indifferent to the destruction, on the American Continent, of every right proclaimed in the immortal Declaration of Independance.

Among the destitutions which the spirit of counter revolution and priestcraft are every day operating in the French seminaries of learning, there is one victim which cannot but be particularly interesting to you. I mean M. Botta, the author of an Italian history of the war of independance, translated first in French, and since, under your auspices, in English. M. Botta, who has obtained

your approbation, fully deserves it, and has a proper sense of the testimonies of your esteem, was a peaceful worthy *principal* of the College of Rouen, where his rectorship has been taken from him, under no plausible pretence, unless it is for the supposed congeniality of his opinion with our American doctrines. He had at first, or rather his friends had for him, the idea of his going to the U. S. But age, bad health, a family of children keep him in France. I have been applied to on the subject of an American subscription in his behalf. Don't you think, my dear friend, it might take place; and then who could be better fit to give it proper weight and effect than you who have valued the work and the historian so far as to superintend a translation for the benefit of the American youth, and give him personal marks of your regard?

I have been desired to enquire whether you have received from Doctor *Defendente Sacchi* a copy of a moral novel, called *Oriele*. The hero of the tale is made to travel throughout the U. S., where he has the pleasure to converse with Mr Jefferson when due homage is paid to the venerated interlocutor. Another copy has been sent to the American Philosophical Society at Philadelphia. No answer has come to hand. The doctor is a respectable scientific inhabitant of Pavia, chief redacteur of an important work, *Collection of the Classical Methaphicians*. You will easily [see?] by whom of our friends I am in this affair commissioned. He is well, and so are both our families, who request their best respects to be presented to you. Remember me to M^{rs} Randolph, and receive the most affectionate good wishes of your old tender friend.

LAFAYETTE.

P. S. I was preparing to send the above letter when I have been blessed with yours, Novemb. 4th inclosing one for M. de Tracy. How deeply I have been affected with

the account you give of your health, and the affectionate expressions of your sentiments for me, your friendly heart will better feel than words could tell. I shall answer you in a short time. But must here express the pleasure of a paternal friend when I found in your letter, and had to communicate to Miss Wright your opinion of *A few days in Athens*, which her high veneration for you makes her so worthy to enjoy. I shall at some time send you a short biographical note for good Mr Botta.

I am for the second time a great grandfather. The whole family beg to be respectfully remembered.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO SAMUEL PARR.*

MONTICELLO, IN VIRGINIA, Apr. 26, 24.

MUCH RESPECTED SIR, — A letter addressed to you from a perfect stranger undoubtedly requires apology. This I can only find in the character of the subject producing it, a subject cherished in every literary breast. The State of Virginia, of which I am a native and resident, is engaged in the establishment of an university on a scale of such extent as may give it eminence on this side of the Atlantic. I am entrusted with a share in it's adm̃n & goṽmt. We are anxious to place in it none but professors of the first grade of science in their respective lines, and for these we must go to countries where that highest grade exists, and of preference to Gr. Br., the land of our own language, morals, manners, & habits. For a professor of the classical languages particularly, of the highest attainments in them, Oxford necessarily offers itself as the institution most eminent in the world in that branch of learning; and of whose judgment there could

* Samuel Parr, one of the most eminent classical scholars of his time and a strong Whig partisan, was born at Harrow-on-the-Hill, England, Jan. 26, 1746-7, and died at Hatton, March 6, 1825. See Dictionary of National Biography, vol. xliii. p. 364. — Eds.

we so much wish to be availed as that of the oldest and purest classic now living? This, then, Sir, is the object which produces the obtrusion of this letter on you. It will be handed you by Mr. F. W. Gilmer, a gentleman of high qualifns. in various branches of science, of a correct and honble character, worthy of all confidcē and of any attention you may be pleased to bestow on him. He is authorised to select professors for us; but being an entire stranger in the country to which he is sent to make this selection, if unaided by faithful advice from others, he may be liable to gross error and imposition in distinguishing characters of the degree of science we seek, of sober & correct morals and habits, — indispensable qualities in a professor in this country, — and of accomodating and peaceable disposñs, so necessary for the harmony of the instñ. Your knolege, respected Sir, of persons, characters, and qualifications may guide and guard him in this difficult research. May we venture to ask the benefit of it, and your patronage of the mission on which Mr. Gilmer goes? To myself it would be a peculiar gratificñ to have an associate so eminent in the performance of offices promising so much good to those we are to leave behind us, and at an age so advanced as to indulge us in the prospect of few remaining occasions of being useful to the generations to come. With my thanks for any good offices you can render our infant institution, be pleased to accept the assurances of my high veneration, esteem, & consideration.

TH: J.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO DUGALD STEWART.*

MONTICELLO IN VIRGINIA, Apr. 26, 24.

DEAR SIR, — It is now 35 years since I had the great pleasure of becoming acquainted with you in Paris, and

* Dugald Stewart, one of the most famous of the Scottish metaphysicians, was born in Edinburgh, Nov. 22, 1753, and died there June 11, 1828. See Dictionary of National Biography, vol. liv. pp. 282-286. — Eds.

since we saw together Louis XVI. led in triumph by his people thro' the streets of his capital; these years too have been like ages in the events they have engendered without seeming at all to have bettered the condñ of suffering man. Yet his mind has been opening and advancing, a sentiment of his wrongs has been spreading, and it will end in the ultimate establishment of his rights. To effect this nothing is wanting but a general concurrence of will, and some fortunate accident will produce that. At a subsequent period you were so kind as to recall me to your recollection on the publicñ of your invaluable book on the Philosophy of the Human Mind, a copy of which you sent me, and I have been happy to see it become the text book of most of our colleges & academies, and pass thro' several reimpressions in the U.S. An occurrence of a character dear to us both leads again to a renewal of our recollections and associates us in an occasion of still rendering some service to those we are about to leave. The State of Virgã, of which I am a native and resident, is establishing an university on a scale as extensive and liberal as circumstances permit or call for. We have been 4 or 5 years in preparing our buildings, which are now ready to recieve their tenants. We proceed, therefore, to the engaging professors, and anxious to recieve none but of the highest grade of science in their respective lines, we find we must have recourse to Europe, where alone that grade is to be found, and to Gr. Br. of preference, as the land of our own language, morals, manners, and habits. To make the selection we send a special agent, Mr Francis W. Gilmer, who will have the honor of delivering you this letter. He is well educated himself in most of the branches of science, of correct morals and habits, an enlarged mind, and a discretion meriting entire confidence. From the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, where we expect he will find persons duly qualified in the particular branches in which

these seminaries are respectively eminent, he will pass on to Edinburg, distinguished for it's school of Medicine as well as of other sciences, but when arrived there he will be a perfect stranger, and would have to grope his way in darkness and uncertainty; you can lighten his path, and to beseech you to do so is the object of this letter. Your knolege of persons and characters there can guard him against being misled and lead him to the consummation of our wishes. We do not expect to engage the high characters there who are at the head of their schools, established in offices, honors, & emoluments which can be bettered no where. But we know there is always a junior set of aspirants, treading on their heels, ready to take their places, and as well & sometimes better qualified than they are. These persons, unsettled as yet, surrounded by competitors of equal claims, and perhaps greater credit and interest, may be willing to accept immediately a comfortable certainty here in place of uncertain hopes there, and a lingering delay of even these. From this description of persons we may hope to procure characters of the first order of science. But how to distinguish them? For we are told that were the mission of our agent once known, he would be overwhelmed with applicants, unworthy as well as worthy, yet all supported on recommendñs and certificates equally exaggerated, and by names so respectable as to confound all discrimination. Yet this discrimination is all important to us. An unlucky selection at first would blast all our prospects. Let me beseech you, then, good Sir, to lead Mr. Gilmer by the hand in his researches, to instruct him as to the competent characters, & guard him against those not so. Besides the first degree of eminence in science, a professor with us must be of sober and correct morals & habits, having the talent of communicating his knolege with facility, and of an accomodating and peaceable temper. The latter is all important for the harmony

of the institution. For minuter particulars I will refer you to Mr. Gilmer, who possesses a full knolege of everything & our full confidence in everything. He takes with him plans of our establm't, which will shew the comfortable accommodñs provided for the professors, whether with or without families; and by the expensiveness and extent of the scale they will see it is not an ephemeral thing to which they are invited.

A knolege of your character & disposñs to do good dispenses with all apology for the trouble I give you. While the character and success of this institñ, involving the future hopes and happiness of my country, will justify the anxieties I feel in the choice of it's professors, I am sure the object will excite in your breast such sympathies of kind disposñ, as will give us the benefits we ask of your counsels & attentions. And, with my acknowledgements for these, accept assurances of constant and sincere attam̃t, esteem & respect.

DUGALD STEWART, Esq.

JOHN VAUGHAN TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

PHILAD. 4 June, 1824.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, Monticello:

D. SIR, — I have the pleasure of sending you from the Socy. a copy of the Catalogue they have just completed; it has been arranged by M. Du Ponceau, who has given as much of his time as possible, & has occupied a part of almost every day for many months in its completion. Owing to the great variety (& to him the novelty of many parts or subjects), some errors have crept in which were discovered too late to be rectified. Upon the whole we hope you will approve this first attempt; a new edition at a future day, when the increase of our library shall require it, will afford an opportunity of correcting them. When we consider that after the Revolutionary

War, about 150 vol. constituted our whole library, it is matter of congratulation that we have increased the number to about 6000 vols. The great extent of our collection in the transactions of foreign Scientific Societies, & the various works of great value in foreign languages, we cannot but feel grateful for the liberality which has so largely enriched our library, beyond our own means, & we felt it as a duty to make our riches known to the country. We hope it will stimulate other public societies to follow our example, & be the only means we have of embodying the knowledge of the bibliographical stock of the country, now widely scattered, & which never can be collected as in Europe in very large masses. If the books are any where in the country, & we know where they are, the means of consulting them are not difficult to command. Our foederative gov^t, both for making & executing laws, brings together from all parts a constantly changing body of the most enlightened enquiring men of the country, & renders communication easy.

In this view we have been particularly exact in noting editions & giving fuller titles than may seem necessary.

The undertaking has been very expensive, & we have been obliged *de nous cotiser* towards defraying the expence to share any funds we may acquire towards filling up the many chasms you will find under many of the heads. We hope, however, that this will be amply made up by the friends & wellwishers of our Society & of science, who may be able to assist us by their donations or their bequest. I wish the generous literary spirit of Boston could seize our rich men here.

They have secured Ebeling & Warden's Library.

I remain yours sincerely,

JN. VAUGHAN.

One vol. is half printed. I have placed your name amongst the subscribers. If any of your friends wish to

subscribe I shall be please to hand their order to the Publisher. I can also procure a *few* setts of the Transactions. No Bookseller can furnish one.

CHRISTOPHER H. WILLIAMS* TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Thomas Jefferson, Esq., Monticello, Virginia.

MONROE COUNT., MISSISSIPPI, August 17, 1824.

DEAR SIR, — Blieveing that their will be two questions of considerable importance (to the State and County in which I live) agitated in the next legislature, and feeling myself incapable of determing on either of them correctly, I have taken the liberty of addressing you, and I hope that you will put yourself to the trouble of instructing an inexperienced youth. And knowing that your opinions have more weight than an other person's in the United States, and believeing you to understand more the nature, meaning and jenious of our Constitution, I wish not only to be instructed but to handle your opinions in such a manner as will be advantageous to the State. During the sitting of the legislature their was an act passed that the judges of the State have declared unconstitutional and have prevented its operation. Their power appears to me to be a constructed one growing out of their oaths. As such should the next legislature repass the law and reassert the constitutionality of it. Their appears to me a difficulty ariseing that can not be surmounted if the judges possess this power of putting down laws, on which question I wish you to giveme your opinion; for should the Judiciary and legislature act in this way (and the judges possess superior power) civil liberty in a great measure is put at rest. Though I am of opinion that the judges possess some such power, but where to draw the lines of

* Perhaps the person who was afterward a member of the United States House of Representatives from Tennessee. See Lanman's Biographical Annals, p. 465. — EDS.

demarcation between them I know not. The question in relation to the county is wheather it would be an infringement on the powers of the general government or a violation of the State constitution to run nominal or real lines in the Indian Nation to get a sufficient territory to form a constitutional county. The cons[t]itution of the State requires 576 square miles to each county, and Monroe County is detached from the settled parts of the State by the Indian Nation and wants only a small quantity of territory to be large enough for two counties. I am of the opinion that if the line was run and the law sufficiently guarded so as to prevent two conflicting governments, and thereby secure to the Indians their rights and priviledges as though the line had not of been run, that it would not be infringeing on the powers of the general government; and with regard to the S[t]ate Constitution, I am of the opinion that the laws of the State in criminal cases would operate within these real or ideal lines, and could be made to operate in civial cases under certain circumstances which would do away the ideality of thing and make it a substance in the meaning of the Constitution. It is contended that the line run in the Nation would be ideal in the eye of the law, and consequently would be no acquisition of territory. I think the State can divide its territory in any manner provided it dose not violate any agreement or compact betwn it and the U. States, and that the State is as much the sovering of the Indian Nation in a comparative sense as their are of any other part of the chartered limits of the State. On which subjects if you will trouble yourself so far as to give me your opinion, you will confer a lasting favor and, if your wish, it shall not be made public.

I am, D. Sir, with sentiments of the highest respect
and esteem,

Your obt. hub^l. servant,

CHRISTOPHER H. WILLIAMS.

P. S. Direct your letter to Cotton Gin Port.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO JOSEPH COOLIDGE, JR.*

MONTICELLO, Jan. 15, 25.

DEAR SIR, — I owe you many thanks for the two last books you have been so kind as to send me. I have derived a great deal of information from Russel for the use of our University. I had only a borrowed copy, and had been disappointed in getting one from England. Bosworth is a treasure of Anglo-Saxon learning. There is much in him valuable and new to me. He treads, indeed, in the footsteps of Dr Hickee and his followers, in endeavoring to make it a language of learned construction, giving it the genders, numbers, declensions, conjugns, and other scaffoldings of the Greek and Latin, and encumbering it with difficulties even beyond theirs, whereas by simplifying and fixing it's orthography we find it is old English, only one age senior to Pierce Plowman, and that it becomes like that the language we speak, as readily intelligible as other old English.

On your recommendation of Mr. Hilliard, and explanation of the means he had established of procuring books from the several book-marts of Europe, I accepted willingly his proposition to become the furnisher of books to our University. The inclosed letter contains a catalogue of the school books we shall immediately want, and of those of a higher order which will be recommended to our students. I am so unwilling to give him false expectations of the extent of our market, which might end in disappointment and loss, that I hope I am under the mark in what I recommend. It is impossible for us as yet to conjecture the number of students which may

* This letter is printed from the original in the possession of Archibald Cary Coolidge. Joseph Coolidge, Jr., was the son of Joseph and Elizabeth (Bulfinch) Coolidge, and was born in Boston Oct. 31, 1798. He graduated at Harvard College in 1817, was married to the favorite granddaughter of Thomas Jefferson in May, 1825, and died in his native city Dec. 14, 1879. — Eds.

offer. There are many circumstances of detail in the local condition of the place, known to yourself and not communicable by letter. I have therefore taken the liberty of inclosing to you the letter for him, and requesting you to deliver it in person, as you could answer the many enquiries he may be disposed to make, and possess him of the true state of things here. Possibly we may find it convenient to employ Mr. Hilliard to collect our library from the different countries of Europe, on a reasonable commission, we advancing the money. To preserve our exemption from duties he would be to be made merely our agent, the property of the books to be, for that purpose, vested in the University. On this my colleagues will be to decide. The amount, you know, we estimate at about 23,000 D.

I proposed to you to suggest to some editor of books in Boston the printing an 8^{vo} edñ of Wilson's Ornithology, giving plates of 8^{vo} size also, with mere sketchings of the forms of the birds in a light way. I do not know whether the lithographic art is practised in Boston. If it is it would be quite equal to the object of this work, and so cheap, as I learn, as to cost little more than printing.

In a letter I recieved last evening from Mr. Appleton, our consul at Leghorn, a gentleman of intelligence, is the following paragraph: "I have been informed that there has been lately discovered at Athens, in a subterranean vault, a collection of 2,000 vols. or rolls of papyrus of Græcian authors, in a great state of perfection, with several statues of the highest order of sculpture, which it was probable was sunk by an earthquake, or was buried to save it from the barbarous hands of Mussulmen." I give it in his own words, and am sorry it stands on the indefinite ground of "I have been informed." If true, we may recover what had been lost of Diodorus Siculus, Polybius, and Dion Cassius. I would rather, however, it should have been of Livy, Tacitus, and Cicero.

We are in the hourly expectation of the arrival of the complement of our Professors, and shall open the University within one fortnight after it shall be known that they are landed on our shores. Our family is all well, and hold you in affectionate recollections. I join them sincerely in these, and pray you to be assured of my cordial friendship and respect.

TH: JEFFERSON.

JOSEPH COOLIDGE, JR., TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

DEAR SIR, — On receiving your letter, I called on Mr. Hilliard, and gave him all the information in my power relative to the University. Upon some points he was desirous to hear farther from you; but as one of the partners of the house of Cummings, Hilliard & Co. will soon be in Charlottesville, I hope you will be spared the fatigue of an additional correspondence. You mention that possibly Mr. Hilliard may be appointed agent to purchase the University library: he has great facilities for doing this to advantage, being experienced in the trade, and personally acquainted with the great book-marts of the Continent and of England; he is universally respected as an honorable and intelligent man, and is in perfectly good business credit. But it might be well to make some arrangement by wh. the funds of the University could only be applied to the use of that institution, and not connected in any way with his own private business, wh. is very extensive.

I am glad, Sir, that Bosworth contained any thing worth notice. In addition to your remarks upon the simplicity of the Saxon language, I will only venture to add, being wholly unacquainted with the subject, that it seems to me extremely improbable that philosophical terms of expression should be found couppled with semi-

barbarous modes of life. In an early stage of society, such as existed prior to the Norman Conquest, our ideas are few; as these increase the medium by wh. they are conveyed improves, and the language therefore by degrees becomes complicated, and requires the machinery of grammatical forms. It seems, therefore, unwise to look in the language of the Anglo-Saxons for the "difficulties" of the Greek and Latin.

My sentiments of respectful attachment to the founder lead me to take a lively interest in the welfare of the V^a University; and I beg leave to congratulate you, Sir, on the arrival of your Professors. The University will soon, I suppose, go into operation. I daily hear many wishes for its success. By a vessel to sail in a few days for Richmond, I shall send the Cambridge translations of several elementary French mathematical works. Perhaps on examination they may be thought not unworthy of recommendation to the higher classes.

Mr. Ticknor presents his respects to you, Sir, and promises immediately to prepare the catalogue of German books.

With sincere respect,

Yr. friend & obt. svt.

J. COOLIDGE, JR.

Boston, Febr 23^d, 1825.

Pickering's Lexicon will not be published for some time, perhaps for 3 months. I enclose a specimen of one now printing in England.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO JOSEPH COOLIDGE, JR.*

MONTICELLO, Apr. 12, 25.

DEAR SIR, — The arrival of our Professors from abroad has at length enabled us to get our University into opera-

* Printed from the original in the possession of Archibald Cary Coolidge. — Eds.

tion. Their failure to arrive by the day we had announced for it's commencement lost us for awhile many students who supposing, with most of us, from the length of time they had been out, that they must have perished, engaged themselves elsewhere. We began on the 7th of March with between 30 and 40. Since that they have been coming in, and are still coming almost daily. They are at this time 65. I wish they may not get beyond 100 this year, as I think it will be easier to get into an established course of order and discipline with that than with a greater number. Our English Professors give us perfect satisfaction. The choice has been most judiciously made. They are of very high order in their respective sciences, correct in their habits, encounter cheerfully whatever is novel to them, and are zealous to promote their respective schools. Our Professors of Chemistry and Moral Philosophy are chosen from among our own fellow citizens, as will be our Professor of Law, not yet named. The first of these just arrived, and the second hourly expected. On his arrival the Faculty will form themselves into a board, and commence the exercise of their functions of order and discipline, for which the necessity is already apparent by the incipient irregularities of some of the youths.

Your kind dispositions towards our University will sometimes, I fear, be the source of trouble to you. We understand that the art of bellmaking is carried to greater perfection in Boston than elsewhere in the U. S. We want a bell which can *generally* be heard at the distance of two miles, because this will ensure it's being *always* heard at Charlottesville. As we wish it to be sufficient for this, so we wish it not more so, because it will add to it's weight, price, and difficulty of management. Will you be so good as to enquire what would be the weight and price of such a bell, and inform me of it? I have engaged Mr. Hilliard as agent for the University in the purchase

of it's library ; and the sum to be put into his hands being considerable (15,000 D.), I have required security from him, and taken the liberty of referring him to yourself and Mr. Ticknor for judging and certifying to me it's sufficiency.

The books you have been so kind as to present to the University have been recieved and were opened yesterday. They came in good condition, were peculiarly well bound, and entirely acceptable. I think there was but one which proved a duplicate. Permit me in the name of the University & Visitors to return you their thanks for this handsome donation.

The object of the welcome visit we expect from you soon is such as would render the presence of your parents, Mr. and Mrs. Coolidge, peculiarly gratifying. I am a stranger to their ages and condition of health, and how far these would admit of such a journey, and therefore, I must only say that they would be recieved with the most sincere cordiality ; so, if any other of your friends, led by affection to you or by curiosity, should be willing to accompany you, it would give us great pleasure.

I send you a copy of our regulations, and pray you to be assured of my affectionat attachment and great respect.

TH : JEFFERSON.

CHAPMAN JOHNSON TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Thomas Jefferson, Esquire, Monticello.

RICHMOND, 23 April, 1825.

DEAR SIR, — I have to thank you for your letter of the 15th enclosing a copy of the rules for the government of the University. I am glad to hear that they are approved, and I hope they will be found useful. My leisure has not been sufficient to examine them with attention, but most of them, at first view, appear to me judicious.

The proposition to purchase Perry's land, I would advo-

cate with much interest, if we had the funds in hand, or a certain revenue from which they would arise. But I am afraid to venture on any new engagement in the present state of our finances.

I think we should better meet the public wishes, and better assure prosperity to our institution, by finishing what is begun, and paying what we owe, than by acquiring this land, however desirable, at the expense of creating new debt.

I have no doubt that at all times we shall be able, when we have the money, to command a communication between any two parcels of land.

It gives me great pleasure to hear of the favorable commencement of the institution. I have great hopes from the European professors. From what I have seen of them, I think them highly qualified to be useful. What I fear most is that they will want experience in the government of our youth.

What is to be done about a law professor? I think much depends on his appointment. It is very difficult to fill. The requisite talent, science, and moral qualification, is difficult to find, and when found more difficult to allure from more profitable or more agreeable stations. If an American, particularly a Virginian, qualified alike for the professor's chair and for the government of the institution could be tempted into the office, I think we should have done much to assure prosperity to the institution. What think you of establishing a presidency, charged with the execution of the laws, with a salary of \$500, to be annexed to any professorship that the Visitors think proper, and tendering this office to a professor of law, as an inducement to its acceptance? I think the institution will be found to want a head, and that this want should be supplied by some American, the influence of whose moral character will supply the place of many minute regulations and vexatious punishments.

I wish you would think this suggestion worthy of your consideration.

With very great respect, your very obt. sv^t,

CH. JOHNSON

I have regretted exceedingly that I could not attend your last meetings. At the extra meeting I was bound by the courts. At the regular meeting weather bound.

C. J.

JOSEPH COOLIDGE, JR., TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

DEAR SIR,—I am very sorry that it was not in my power sooner to answer your kind letter of April 12. I am told that a bell weighing *about* 400 lb. would be heard always at the distance of one mile, the cost of which at 35 cts. pr. lb., with 14 dls. for a stock and wheel, recommended to be made here, would be one hundred and fifty-four dollars. From this a slight deduction might possibly be obtained by one authorized to give an order. Any tone can be given which is desired; and an inscription, if wished, would be added gratis. One week is necessary to cast such a bell; if not satisfactory when finished it would be rec^d again, and another made.

Mr. Hilliard is still absent. On his return Mr. Ticknor and myself will do all in our power to ascertain the nature of the security he may offer for the proper application of the University funds. A lively interest in the welfare of the University and my great respect for yourself, Sir, will make [me] at all times anxious to render any services in my power. Should the preceding answers to your inquiries induce you to order a bell from this place, it will give me great pleasure to act as your agent in doing so, and in shipping it, when ready, to Richmond; and if absent when your letter arrives, my father will most readily charge himself with the execution of your wishes.

In reply to that portion of your letter in which you kindly invite my parents to accompany me in my visit to Monticello, I can but gratefully acknowledge my sense of the attention and express my regret that my mother's health is such as to forbid so long a journey. Many circumstances would conspire with the wish to become personally acquainted with the family at Monticello to make such a visit pleasant, but she has not strength for the effort. I hope, however, that it will be in the power of my father and mother, whose united thanks I am desired to offer you, to meet us on our way northwards, and to receive, perhaps in New York, their new relative with the attention and kindness alike due to her friends and to herself. With the renewed assurance that it will ever gratify me to be useful to the University, and with the expression of deep and most respectful interest, I remain

Yr. friend.

J. COOLIDGE, JR.

April 25, [1825] Monday. BOSTON.

ELLEN W. COOLIDGE * TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Boston, August 1, '25.

HAVING reached Boston in safety, my dearest grandfather, one of my first cares is to write to you, to thank you for all the kindness I have received from you, & for all the affection you have shewn me, from my infancy & childhood, throughout the course of my maturer years: the only return I can make is by gratitude the deepest & most enduring and love the most devoted; and although

* Eleonora Wayles Randolph was the second daughter of Thomas Mann and Martha (Jefferson) Randolph, and was born Oct. 30, 1796. She was married to Joseph Coolidge, Jr., of Boston, May 27, 1825, and died April 30, 1876. Her earliest letters were usually signed Eleonora W. Randolph; later she wrote merely E. W. Randolph; and finally she adopted the form Ellen. — Eds.

removed by fortune to a distance from you, yet my heart is always with you. I shall write as often as the fear of troubling you (who are already so much troubled by numerous letters from others) will permit, and return to see you whenever I possibly can, and this I hope will not be unfrequently. The facility of travelling is now such that I have myself passed over about 1000 miles in 12 days; for, of the five weeks that elapsed between my leaving Monticello & reaching Boston, we have stopped more than three in the different great cities on the road. Mr Coolidge wished to give me an idea of the beauty & prosperity of the New England States, & instead of taking me from New York to Boston by sea, he planned a tour, which we have accordingly made, up the Hudson as far as Albany, from thence to Saratoga, Lakes George and Champlain, as far north as Burlington in Vermont, from Burlington across the country to the Connecticut River, & down this river to Springfield, from whence, through the interior of Massachusetts, to Boston. The journey has been long & somewhat fatiguing; but it has made me acquainted with probably the fairest & most flourishing portion of New England, and I do not regret having taken it: it has given me an idea of prosperity & improvement, such as I fear our Southern States cannot hope for, whilst the canker of slavery eats into their hearts & diseases the whole body by this ulcer at the core. When I consider the immense advantages of soil & climate which we possess over these people, it grieves me to think that such great gifts of Nature should have failed to produce anything like the wealth and improvement which the New Englanders have wrung from the hard bosom of a stubborn & ungrateful land, & amid the gloom & desolation of their wintry skies. I should judge from appearances that they are at least a century in advance of us in all the arts & embellishments of life; & they are pressing forward in their course with a zeal &

activity which I think must ensure success. It is certainly a pleasing sight, this flourishing state of things. The country is covered with a multitude of beautiful villages; the fields are cultivated & forced into fertility; the roads kept in the most exact order; the inns numerous, affording good accommodations, & travelling facilitated by the ease with which post carriages & horses are always to be obtained. Along the banks of the Connecticut there are rich meadow lands, & here *New* might, I should think, almost challenge *Old* England in beauty of landscape. From the top of Mount Holyoke, which commands, perhaps, one of the most extensive views in these States, the whole country as you look down upon it resembles one vast garden divided into it's parterres. There are upwards of twenty villages in sight at once, & the windings of the Connecticut are every where marked, not only by its own clear & bright waters, but by the richness & beauty of the fields and meadows, & the density of population on it's banks. The villages themselves have an air of neatness & comfort that is delightful. The houses have no architectural pretensions, but they are pleasing to look at, for they are almost all painted white, with vines about the windows & doors, & grass plots in front decorated with flowers & shrubs; a neat paling separates each little domain from its neighbour; & the outhouses are uniformly excellent, especially the wood-house, which is a prominent feature in every establishment, & is, even at this season, well nigh filled with the stock for winter's use. The school-houses are comfortable looking buildings, & the churches with their white steeples add not a little to the beauty of the landscape. It is common also to find the larger of these country towns the seat of colleges, which are numerous throughout the country.

The appearance of the people generally is much in their favor; the men seem sober, orderly, & industrious. I

have seen but one drunken man since I entered New England, & he was a South Carolinian. The women are modest, tidy, & well looking. The children even are more quiet & civil than you generally find them elsewhere; they are almost all taught to curtsy or bow to passers-by; & it is an amusing & not unpleasing sight to see a group of these little urchins returning from school with their books in their hands, draw up by the side of the road & gravely salute the traveller, who rewards their courtesy only by a smile & a nod.

I have visited one only of the great cotton factories which are beginning to abound in the country, & although it was a flourishing establishment, & excited my astonishment by its powers of machinery & the immense saving of time & labor, yet I could not get reconciled to it. The manufacturer grows rich whilst the farmer plods on in comparative poverty; but the pure air of heaven & the liberty of the fields in summer, with a quiet & comfortable fire-side in winter, certainly strike the imagination more favorably than the confinement of the large but close, heated, & crowded rooms of a factory, the constant whirl & deafening roar of machinery, & the close, sour, & greasy smells emitted by the different ingredients employed in the different processes of manufacturing cotton & woollen cloths. Also, I fancied the farmers & labourers looked more cheerful & healthy than the persons employed in the factories, & their wives & daughters prettier & neater than the women & girls I saw before the looms & spinning jennies. There are two little spectacles I liked much to look out upon from the windows of the carriage; the one was the frequent waggons laden high above their tops with hay (the country through which I have passed being principally a grass-growing one), drawn by the largest, finest, & handsomest oxen I have ever seen, & driven by a hail, ruddy farmer's lad; the other was a country girl driving home her cow, for the

girls, as I have said before, are well looking, healthy, & modest, & the cows laden with their milky treasures might, any one of them, serve as a study for a painter who desired to express this sort of abundance.

I have written badly, I fear almost illegibly, for I am not yet recovered from the fatigue of my journey, & my hand trembles; after this long letter, then, my dearest grandfather, I will bid you adieu. I have been received with great kindness by my new relations, but my heart turns towards those who love me so much better than any others can ever do. I am anxious, however, to conciliate those with whom I am hereafter to reside, & shall strive to make friends, particularly as I have every reason to believe that my husband's family & circle of immediate friends are persons of uncommon merit. Mr Coolidge prays to be permitted to express his regard & veneration for you, & will attend immediately to your memorandum. Once more adieu, my dear grandpapa, love to all, and for yourself the assurance of my devoted love.

ELLEN. W. COOLIDGE.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO ELLEN W. COOLIDGE.*

Mrs. Ellen W. Coolidge, Boston.

MONTICELLO, Aug. 27, 25.

YOUR affectionate letter, my dear Ellen, of the 1st inst. came to hand in due time. The assurances of your love, so feelingly expressed, were truly soothing to my soul, and none were ever met with warmer sympathies. We did not know until you left us what a void it would make in our family. Imagination had illy sketched it's full measure to us; and, at this moment, every thing around serves but to remind us of our past happiness,

* This letter is printed from the original in the possession of Archibald Cary Coolidge.
—Eds.

only consoled by the addition it has made to yours. Of this we are abundantly assured by the most excellent and amiable character to which we have committed your future well-being, and by the kindness with which you have been recieved by the worthy family into which you are now engrafted. We have no fear but that their affections will grow with their growing knolege of you, and the assiduous cultivation of these becomes the first object in importance to you. I have no doubt you will find also the state of society there more congenial with your mind than the rustic scenes you have left, altho these do not want their points of endearment. Nay, one single circumstance changed, and their scale would hardly be the lightest. One fatal stain deforms what nature had bestowed on us of her fairest gifts.

I am glad you took the delightful tour which you describe in your letter. It is almost exactly that which Mr. Madison and myself pursued in May and June, 1791. Setting out from Philadelphia, our course was to N. York, up the Hudson to Albany, Troy, Saratoga, F^t Edward, F^t George, L. George, Ticonderoga, Crown Point, penetrated into L. Champlain, returned the same way to Saratoga, thence crossed the mountains to Bennington, Northampton, along Connecticut River to it's mouth, crossed the Sound into Long-island, and along it's northern margin to Brooklyn, re-crossed to N. York, and returned. But from Saratoga till we got back to Northampton was then mostly desert. Now it is what 34 years of free and good government have made it. It shews how soon the labor of men would make a paradise of the whole earth, were it not for misgovernment, & a diversion of all his energies from their proper object, — the happiness of man, — to the selfish interests of kings, nobles, and priests.

Our University goes on well. We have past the limit of 100 students some time since. As yet it has been a model of order and good behavior, having never yet had

occasion for the exercise of a single act of authority. We studiously avoid too much government. We treat them as men and gentlemen, under the guidance mainly of their own discretion. They so consider themselves, and make it their pride to acquire that character for their institution. In short, we are as quiet on that head as the experience of 6 months only can justify. Our professors too continue to be what we wish them. Mr. Gilmer accepts the Law-chair, and all is well.

My own health is what it was when you left me. I have not been out of the house since, except to take the turn of the Roundabout twice; nor have I any definite prospect when it will be otherwise.

I shall not venture into the region of small news, of which your other correspondents of the family are so much better informed. I am expecting to hear from Mr. Coolidge on the subject of the clock for the Rotunda. Assure him of my warmest affections and respect, and pray him to give you ten thousand kisses for me, and they will still fall short of the measure of my love to you. If his parents and family can set any store by the esteem and respect of a stranger, mine are devoted to them.

TH: JEFFERSON.

JOHN VAUGHAN TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

PHILAD., 9 Sep., 1825.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, Monticello:

D. SIR, — I have not lately had the pleasure of hearing from you, altho I frequently hear of you from those of my friends who can gratify themselves by visiting you in your retirement. Some of them think that you do not spare yourself sufficiently; I trust, however, that you know & feel what is proper for you, & will not go beyond what is right. The University must now have got itself embarked and arranged under favorable circumstances,

& want little more than your countenance & your guardian. I should be pleased to receive, & lodge with our documents, all that has been published relative to this important institution, its regulations, the arrangement of the classes & professors, &c. I shall preserve them in our library with great care.

Rich^d Henry Lee (grandson of R. H. L., who, I believe, moved for the voted independence) has been writing the mem^s of his grandfather, to come out soon, & has given to our Society the original letters of the various eminent correspondents of his grandfather of which he has availed himself in the Memoires. He has also given us the original or copy in your hand writing of the dft. of the Declaration of Independence, with the alterations marked in the margin or on the document. It was enclosed by you to him on the 8 July, 1776. We appreciate this document very highly, & are under obligations to him for the gift of this & also for the numerous original letters he has given us. Any circumstances relative to the doc^t. which may come to your recollection, we should be much gratified to know. Mr. Short & Gov. Coles have both certified in our Donation Book the hand writing to be yours. We have received considerable accessions to our stock of original documnts, & should you have any that you could with propriety place with us, they would be highly acceptable.

We have just heard from M. Poinsett from Mexico; he finds things changed since his last visit, for the better on the whole. He will attach himself to gain their confidence, & to counteract the influence which the English have acquired from the absence of other agents, & from the loans & supplies they have furnished to Mexico.

Mr. Haines has requested me to enquire of you the mode of roofing adopted by you for houses, &c.

I remain, with great respect,

Your ob. ser. & friend,

JN. VAUGHAN.

Mr. M^cClure has arrived, & is now making a tour of a month with *Say, Troost, Lesueur, & Haines*.

D^r R. M. Patterson has just returned from examining routes & waters for a State Canal. Patterson, Jones, & Bunker are preparing a report on weights & measures for our Legislature. D. Cooper, who is now here, is preparing a similar one for the State of S^o C^a, & the Delegates to Congress from that State will bring it before Congress. We have got the British Act of Parliament, the several reports of the Commissions to Parliament on the subject. All seem inclined to adopt the English principle, which has been the result of all the talent England could command, under sanction of the Royal Soc^y.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO JOSEPH COOLIDGE, JR.*

Free. Th : Jefferson. Mr Joseph Coolidge, jun^r. Boston.

MONTICELLO, Oct. 13, [1825].

DEAR SIR, — It is so long since I ought to have written to you that I am ashamed to quote your last date. The information particularly which you were so kind as to obtain and furnish me as to the cost of a college clock should have been answered; but finding the price you mentioned far beyond our expectation and funds, I took time to have other enquiries made. These, however, did not result in bringing the cost more within our means; on the contrary 40 cents the lb. were asked for a bell in Philadelphia, instead of 35, the price with you. We are obliged therefore to do without, until our funds are improved; and this ought to have been said to you sooner.

The news of our neighborhood can hardly be interesting to you, except what may relate to our University, in which you are so kind as to take an interest. And it

* Printed from the original in the possession of Archibald Cary Coolidge. — Eds.

happens that a serious incident has just taken place there, which I will state to you the rather, as of the thousand versions which will be given not one will be true. My position enables me to say what is so, but with the most absolute concealment from whence it comes; regard to my own peace requiring that, — except with friends whom I can trust and wish to gratify with the truth.

The University had gone on with a degree of order and harmony which had strengthened the hope that much of self government might be trusted to the discretion of students of the age of 16 and upwards, until the 1st instant. In the night of that day a party of 14 students, animated first with wine, masked themselves so as not to be known, and turned out on the lawn of the University, with no intention, it is believed, but of childish noise and uproar. Two Professors hearing it went out to see what was the matter. They were recieved with insult, and even brick-bats were thrown at them. Each of them siezed an offender, demanded their names (for they could not distinguish them under their disguise), but were refused, abused, and the culprits calling on their companions for a rescue, got loose, and withdrew to their chambers. The Faculty of Professors met the next day, called the whole before them, and in an address, rather harsh, required them to denounce the offenders. They refused, answered the address in writing and in the rudest terms, and charged the Professors themselves with false statements. 50 others, who were in their rooms, no ways implicated in the riot and knowing nothing about it, immediately signed the answer, making common cause with the rioters, and declaring their belief of their assertions in opposition to those of the Professors. The next day chanced to be that of the meeting of the Visitors; the Faculty sent a deputation to them, informing them of what had taken place. The Visitors called the whole body of students before them, exhorted them to make

known the persons masked, the innocent to aid the cause of order by bearing witness to the truth, and the guilty to relieve their innocent brethren from censures which they were conscious that themselves alone deserved. On this the 14 maskers stepped forward and avowed themselves the persons guilty of whatever had passed, but denying that any trespass had been committed. They were desired to appear before the Faculty, which they did. On the evidence resulting from this enquiry, three, the most culpable, were expelled; one of them, moreover, presented by the grand jury for civil punishment (for it happened that the district court was then about to meet). The eleven other maskers were sentenced to suspensions or reprimands, and the 50 who had so gratuitously obtruded their names into the offensive paper retracted them, and so the matter ended.

The circumstances of this transaction enabled the Visitors to add much to the strictness of their system as yet new. The students have returned into perfect order under a salutary conviction they had not before felt that the laws will in future be rigorously enforced, and the institution is strengthened by the firmness manifested by its authorities on the occasion. It cannot, however, be expected that all breaches of order can be made to cease at once, but from the vigilance of the Faculty and energy of the civil power their restraint may very soon become satisfactory. It is not perceived that this riot has been more serious than has been experienced by other seminaries; but, whether more or less so, the exact truth should be told, and the institution be known to the public as neither better or worse than it really is.

All here are well, except myself, and I had sensibly improved, insomuch as to be able to ride 2 or 3 miles a day in a carriage and on our level Roundabouts. But going backwards and forwards on the rough roads to the University for five days successively has brought on me

again a great degree of sufferance, which some days of rest and recumbence will, I hope, relieve. My dear Ellen may be told that at the head of the expelled, as of the riot, was W. M. C., expelled from two other seminaries before. A 2^d was an exile from every school he had ever been at, who had entered and paid his fees only that morning. The 3^d, a worthy young man, not of her acquaintance, whom all lamented, Visitors, Professors, and students, but he had unfortunately too much singularized himself in this affair. Present to her all the blessings of an affectionate gr. father, and be assured of the warmth and sincerity of his attachment and respect to you.

TH : JEFFERSON.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO ELLEN W. COOLIDGE.*

MONTICELLO, Nov. 14, 25.

MY DEAR ELLEN, — In my letter of Oct. 13 to Mr. Coolidge, I gave an account of the riot we had had at the University and of its termination. You will both of course be under anxiety till you know how it has gone off. With the best effects in the world, having let it be understood from the beginning that we wished to trust very much to the discretion of the students themselves for their own government. With about four fifths of them this did well, but there were about 15 or 20 bad subjects who were disposed to try whether our indulgence was without limit. Hence the licentious transaction of which I gave an account to Mr. Coolidge; but when the whole mass saw the serious way in which that experiment was met, the Faculty of Professors assembled, the Board of Visitors coming forward in support of that authority, a grand jury taking up the subject, four of the most

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— Eds.

guilty expelled, the rest reprimanded, severer laws enacted, and a rigorous execution of them declared in future,—it gave them a shock and struck a terror, the more severe as it was less expected. It determined the well disposed among them to frown upon every thing of the kind hereafter, and the ill-disposed returned to order from fear, if not from better motives. A perfect subordination has succeeded, entire respect towards the professors, and industry, order, and quiet the most exemplary, has prevailed ever since. Every one is sensible of the strength which the institution has derived from what appeared at first to threaten its foundation. We have no further fear of any thing of the kind from the present set, but as at the next term their numbers will be more than doubled by the accession of an additional band, as unbroken as these were, we mean to be prepared, and to ask of the legislature a power to call in the civil authority in the first instant of disorder, and to quell it on the spot by imprisonment and the same legal coercions provided against disorder generally committed by other citizens, from whom, at their age, they have no right to distinction.

We have heard of the loss of your baggage, with the vessel carrying it, and sincerely condole with you on it. It is not to be estimated by it's pecuniary value, but by that it held in your affections,—the documents of your childhood, your letters, correspondencies, notes, books, &c., &c., all gone! and your life cut in two, as it were, and a new one to begin, without any records of the former. John Hemmings was the first who brought me the news. He had caught it accidentally from those who first read the letter from Col^o Peyton announcing it. He was au desespoir! That beautiful writing desk he had taken so much pains to make for you! every thing else seemed as nothing in his eye, and that loss was every thing. Virgil could not have been more afflicted had his *Aeneid* fallen a prey

to the flames. I asked him if he could not replace it by making another. No; his eye sight had failed him too much, and his recollection of it was too imperfect. It has occurred to me, however, that I can replace it, not, indeed, to you, but to Mr Coolidge, by a substitute, not claiming the same value from it's decorations, but from the part it has *borne* in our history and the events with which it has been associated. I recieved a letter from a friend in Philadelphia lately, asking information of the house, and room of the house there, in which the Declaration of Independance was written, with a view to future celebrations of the 4th of July in it, another enquiring whether a paper given to the Philosophical Society there, as a rough draught of that Declaration was genuinely so. A society is formed there lately for an annual celebration of the advent of Penn to that place. It was held in his antient mansion, and the chair in which he actually sate when at his writing table was presented by a lady owning it, and was occupied by the president of the celebration. Two other chairs were given them, made of the elm under the shade of which Penn had made his first treaty with the Indians. If then things acquire a superstitious value because of their connection with particular persons, surely a connection with the great Charter of our Independance may give a value to what has been associated with that; and such was the idea of the enquirers after the room in which it was written. Now I happen still to possess the writing-box on which it was written. It was made from a drawing of my own by Ben. Randall, a cabinetmaker in whose house I took my first lodgings on my arrival in Philadelphia in May, 1776, and I have used it ever since. It claims no merit of particular beauty. It is plain, neat, convenient, and, taking no more room on the writing table than a moderate 4^{to} volume, it yet displays itself sufficiently for any writing. Mr. Coolidge must do me the favor of accepting this. It's imaginary

value will increase with years, and if he lives to my age, or another half-century, he may see it carried in the procession of our nation's birthday, as the relics of the saints are in those of the Church. I will send it thro' Col^o Peyton, and hope with better fortune than that for which it is to be a substitute.*

I remark what you say in your letter to your mother relative to Mr. Willard and our University clock. Judging from that that he is the person whom Mr. Coolidge would recommend, and having recieved from D^r Waterhouse a very strong recommendation of him, you may assure the old gentleman from me that he shall have the making of it. We have lately made an important purchase of lands, amounting to 7000 D., and the government is taking from us, under their old and new Tariff, 2700 D. duty on the marble caps and bases of the portico of our Rotunda, of 10 columns only. These things try our funds for the moment. At the end of the year we shall see how we stand, and I expect we may be able to give the final order for the clock by February.

I want to engage you as my agent at Boston for certain articles not to be had here, and for such only; but it will be on the indispensable condition that you keep as rigorous an account of dollars and cents as old Yerragan, our neighbour, would do. This alone can induce friends to ask services freely, which would otherwise be the asking of presents, and amount to a prohibition. We should be very glad occasionally to get small supplies of the fine dumb cod-fish to be had at Boston, and also of the tongues and sounds of the cod. This selection of the articles I trouble you for is not of such as are better there than

* This interesting relic was exhibited at the Centennial Celebration in Boston, July 4, 1876. (See Winthrop's Addresses and Speeches, vol. iii. pp. 378, 379.) Subsequently it was given to the United States by the heirs of Mr. Coolidge (see Proceedings had in the Senate and House of Representatives, April 23, 1880, on the Occasion of the Presentation of Thomas Jefferson's Writing-Desk to the United States by the Heirs of the late Joseph Coolidge, Jr.). — EDS.

here; for on that ground we might ask for every thing from thence, but such only as are not to be had here at all. Perhaps I should trespass on Mr. Coolidge for one other article. We pay here 2 D. a gallon for bad French brandy. I think I have seen in Degrand's price current Marseilles brandy, from Dodge and Oxnard, advertised good at 1 dollar; and another kind called Seignettes, which I am told is good Cognac, at D. 1.25. I will ask of you then a supply of a kental of good dumb fish, and about 20 or 30 lb. of tongues and sounds; and of Mr. Coolidge a 30 gallon cask of Dodge and Oxnard's Marseilles brandy, if tolerably good at 1 D. or thereabouts, but double cased, to guard against spoliation. Knowing nothing of the prices of the fish, I will at a venture desire Col^o Peyton to remit 60 D. to Mr. Coolidge immediately, and any little difference between this & the actual cost either way may stand over to your next account. We should be the better perhaps of your recipe for dressing both articles.

I promised Mr. Ticknor to inform him at times how our University goes on. I shall be glad if you will read to him that part of this letter which respects it, presuming Mr. Coolidge may have communicated to him the facts of my former letter to him. These facts may be used *ad libitum*, only keeping my name out of sight. Writing is so irksome to me, especially since I am obliged to do it in a recumbent posture, that I am sure Mr. Ticknor will excuse my economy in this exercise. To you perhaps I should apologize for the want of it on this occasion. The family is well. My own health changes little. I ride 2 or 3 miles in a carriage every day. With my affectionate salut^{ns} to Mr. Coolidge, be assured yourself of my tender & constant love.

TH: JEFFERSON.

BERNARD PEYTON TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

RICH^d, 7 Dec., 1825.

DEAR SIR, — The corks you write for shall be forwarded by first conveyance to Charlottesville, care Jacobs & Raphael.

I am truly delighted to hear you are able to resume your former healthful exercise on horseback, & sincerely trust it will be long before you are again deprived of it.

Mr Monroe is seriously talked of as our next Governor, & it is said with his approbation. Mr Giles, Pleasants, & Henry Tucker are the prominent candidates for senator in Congress. It is tho't, since the receipt of the President's message, which has given infinite dissatisfaction to many of our politicians, that Giles's prospects are much improved. The University appears to stand well with all parties. I hope the grand projected University of Mr Adams, at Washington, may not swallow it up.

With sincere regard, D^r Sir,

Yours very truly,

BERNARD PEYTON.

ELLEN W. COOLIDGE TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

BOSTON, Dec. 26, '25.

YOUR letter of Nov. 14 & 26, my dearest grandpapa, gave me a degree of pleasure only to be understood by those who like me are far separated from the best and kindest friends. It is some compensation for the pains of absence, this increased sensibility to the pleasures left still within our reach, whereby an occasional & limited intercourse with those dearest to us acquires a value so great as to be a sort of equivalent for the temporary loss of their society; but joyful as the receipt of a letter from you

makes my heart, I still look forward with longing eyes to the moment which shall again bring me into your presence, and count the months until the return of summer shall restore me to the beloved circle of native home and early friends. I have found great kindness where I am, & feel sincerely grateful for it, & anxious to give the most convincing proof of that gratitude by shewing myself sensible to the attentions that are paid me, & satisfied with my residence among those from whom I have received them. But all this is consistent with the most lively desire to revisit the scenes of my childhood & the friends who have loved me first and longest, & whose claims upon my devoted affection it is one of my chief pleasures to feel & acknowledge.

The account contained in your letter of the transactions at the University Mr Coolidge & myself were very glad to receive, and he particularly, always respecting *your name*, has made considerable use of it to place things in their true point of view, & counteract the effect of false or exaggerated statements. To Mr Ticknor we communicated portions of both your letters, not withholding your name, as we had your permission for doing so, and believed him entirely worthy of the confidence. He is, as you know, a strenuous advocate for reform in the Cambridge University, which has brought him into trouble with many of the most distinguished men of letters here; & I have no doubt the opposition he meets with strengthens his interest in an institution based upon more liberal principles, & animates his kind feelings for the University of Virginia. Your old friend Gen. Dearborn is always mindful of his former attachment to you, & has shewn it by kindness to me for your sake, & many enquiries whenever we have met relating to your health & well-being. Numerous engagements at first, & latterly the severities of a New England winter, have prevented me from paying more than one visit to Mr Adams at Quincy. As soon as the weather

moderates a little we shall go again. We found the old gentleman just as he has been frequently described to you, afflicted with bodily infirmities, lame, & almost blind, but as far as his mind is concerned as full of life as he could have been fifty years ago. Not only does he seem to have preserved the full vigor of his intellect, but all the sprightliness of his fancy, all the vivacity of his thoughts & opinions. He converses with fluency & cheerfulness & a visible interest upon almost any topic. His manners are kind & courteous; his countenance animated, & his hearing so little impaired as to require only distinctness of articulation & scarcely any raising of the voice in speaking to him. He is surrounded by grandchildren exceedingly attached to him, & watching over him with great care & tenderness, & altogether presented an image so venerable, so august even amid the decay of his bodily powers, as sent us away penetrated with respect & admiration for the noble ruin which, time-worn and shattered, looks still so grand in comparison with what is offered to us by present times. Mr Adams might say with Ossian, "The sons of feeble men shall behold me and admire the stature of the chiefs of old." I am afraid our Revolutionary worthies have been succeeded by a race comparatively small.

The weather has been here cold beyond the season. The Bostonians do not generally calculate upon anything as severe before January. I have not suffered as much as I feared I should, because great precautions are taken to guard against the inclemency of the climate. The houses are well built, with double doors, small, close rooms, stoves, & whatever contributes to keep out the general enemy, the intense cold. Great stores of wood & other fuel are timely laid in, & against the open air the females particularly defend themselves by warm clothing. I find that with the wrappings generally made use of I can walk or ride without inconvenience, & that it is not at all neces-

sary to confine myself to the house more than I should do in Virginia. The New Englanders are so reconciled by habit to their climate as really to prefer it to a more [mild ?] one, a degree of philosophy which I do not think I shall very readily attain to. I have written a long letter, & in great part by candle-light, but I cannot close without saying that the brandy, &c., will be shipped in about a week along with a piano built for Virginia in this town, a very beautiful piece of workmanship, & doing, I think, great credit to the young mechanic whom we employed, & whose zeal was much stimulated by the knowledge that his work would pass under your eye. The tones of the instrument are fine, and its interior structure compares most advantageously with that of the English-built pianos, having, we think, a decided superiority. The manufacturer believes that it will be to his advantage to have it known that he was employed in such a work for you, or what amounts to the same thing for one of your family, living under your roof. Willard, the clock maker, is, as I mentioned before, very solicitous to have the making of the time-piece for the University, has already begun it (*upon his own responsibility*, & knowing the circumstances of the case, as we have taken care to mislead or deceive him in nothing), and wishes to be informed exactly as to the dimensions of the room in which the clock is to stand. I shall attend to your wishes in respect to the recipes you mention. Mr Coolidge will write to you soon, & in the mean time offers the assurance of his great respect and warm affection; the family hear from me so often it is almost unnecessary to send any messages; I shall therefore add nothing farther to this unreasonably long letter, but what I feel to be the inadequate expression of my own devoted love for you, my dearest, kindest, best grandfather. Adieu, then, since I must say adieu, & believe me with the same heart, always your own

ELLEN : W : COOLIDGE.

M. Sales is quite satisfied with a message instead of a letter in reply to his own, and very grateful for the kindness of your expressions.

JOSEPH COOLIDGE, JR., TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

DEAR SIR, — I have been very much gratified by the letters rec^d from you since I left Monticello ; those which contained accounts of the interruption to good order at the University were made use of to correct erroneous impressions upon the subject wherever we found them to exist ; and others referring to the different small commissions with which you had honoured me gave me an opportunity of shewing at least my good will, and make me hope that you will always command my services when they can be useful to the University or yourself. In your letter of — to Ellen you permit us to tell Mr. Willard that he shall have the making of the University clock, and that an order would probably be given for it in Feb^y. On hearing this he determined, on his own responsibility, to commence one immediately, saying that it could be paid for at the convenience of the Board ; but seeing in our public papers the refusal of the V^a Legislature to make any further appropriations, I have cautioned him against incurring any expense which would be burdensome to himself, in the event of your not seeing fit, at present, to order a clock. Will you be so good, Sir, as to tell Mr. Trist your determination, that he may communicate it when he writes.

By the kindness of the family at Monticello we hear frequently of your health ; and as spring approaches we even venture to speak of seeing you again. This long absence from her friends, with all the variety of new scenes and new modes of life, has not been able to estrange Ellen from those she earliest loved ; but during it she has

made me better acquainted with their character and history, and taught me to feel a deeper interest than before in all that befalls them. It has been, therefore, with pain that I have heard the melancholy events which have recently visited you, widely extended sickness terminating in death! but the best consolation for the sorrow we feel for the loss of friends is to be found in the continuance and increase of the affection of those who survive, & in this you are rich indeed.

I have deferred too long to mention the valued memorial which you sent me. Several times, however, have I written to thank you for "the desk," and as often destroyed my letter least that which was but the sincere expression of gratified feeling should seem to you like exaggeration: but I was truly sensible of the kindness of the gift, and the compliment it conveyed. The desk arrived safely, furnished with a precious document which adds very greatly to its value; for the same hand which, half a century ago, traced upon it the words which have gone abroad upon the earth, now attests its authenticity and consigns it to myself. When I think of the desk "in connection with the great charter of our independence" I feel a sentiment almost of awe, and approach it with respect; but when I remember that it has served you fifty years, been the faithful depository of your cherished thoughts, that upon it have been written your letters to illustrious and excellent men, your plans for the advancement of civil and religious liberty and of art and science, that it has, in fact, been the companion of your studies and the instrument of diffusing their results, that it has been the witness of a philosophy which calumny could not subdue, and of an enthusiasm which eighty winters have not chilled, — I would fain consider it as no longer inanimate and mute, but as something to be interrogated and caressed.

In writing to you at this time, may I not venture to

allude to the existence of a feeling in Massachusetts, honorable alike to those who avow and to him who awakens it? I mean of sympathy and deep regret for the circumstances wh. Mr. Loyall has described. The opposition of the North to the measures of your political administration was founded, I do believe, on principle; but I am certain that as all then recognized the purity of your motives, and now acquiesce in the wisdom of your past conduct, so they enter with a regret as sincere as any can do into the necessity of the sacrifice you feel called upon to make.

The connection which subsists between us permits me to ask an interest in your thoughts, and gives me the right to express to you, without indelicacy, a more than common regard; among the sources of happiness which it has opened to me, I do not account it least that it allows me occasionally to share in your daily intercourse. But I fear to say too much in expressing my feelings of affection and deference.

JOSEPH COOLIDGE, JR.

Boston, Febr. 27, 1826.

P. S. The box of cured fish, with the brandy, must ere this have reached you. It would have been sent sooner had any opportunity offered. At the same time I sent to Mr. Trist* a small cask of brandy of uncommon quality, and hope that you will consent, Sir, to share with him its contents.

ELLEN W. COOLIDGE TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

To Thomas Jefferson, Late President of the U. S., Monticello.

Boston, March 8, 26.

I ENCLOSE a bill for the brandy, &c., my dearest grandpapa, by which you will see that we have still a few

* Nicholas P. Trist, who had married Virginia Jefferson Randolph, a younger sister of Mrs. Coolidge. — Eds.

dollars remaining of the sixty sent by Col. Peyton. There are also such receipts for dressing the fish & tongues & sounds as I could obtain; but these dishes, especially the latter, are scarcely ever brought upon table in Boston, owing, I suppose, to their being so easily obtained as to lose their value by their commonness. The salt cod is prepared the first day very much as we do our bacon hams, soaked the over night, & boiled a good deal to soften & freshen it. It is then eaten with hard boiled eggs, melted butter or oil, & various boiled vegetables, as beets, carrots, &c. Egg or anchovy sauce may be served with it, & is preferred by some. The second day the fragments of the cold fish are minced very fine, & mixed with boiled potatoes, & either eaten with a sauce or made into cakes & browned in a frying pan. With the tongues & sounds the principal care is to freshen them as much as possible by washing & soaking, & they are oftenest boiled plain & served with a sauce. You will see that the brandy came to \$1.30 by the gallon. It was the lowest price for which it could be obtained good. The merchant who supplied these articles exerted himself to get them of the best quality, knowing for whom they were, & anxious that they should give satisfaction. Any thing that we can do for you, my dearest grandpapa, will be so much gain for us, who look upon the power of serving you, even in such trifles as these, as one of our great pleasures, and a privilege we would exercise whenever we may.

By the same mail with this letter I shall send a pamphlet directed to you, but intended for M^r Trist, as the best answer to some questions of his concerning the schools of Boston. Having mentioned in one of my letters the circumstance that none but Bostonians were admitted to these schools (a regulation so apparently illiberal), I should have added that they are free schools, supported by a tax upon the town's people, who of course would not be called upon to pay for the education of any children

but their own & those of their fellow citizens. The sum of 70,000 Ds. is annually taken from the pockets of the Bostonians for the single purpose of maintaining the schools in their own city; and there is no tax paid with less reluctance, for not only does the public spirit and ambition of the people generally flow with it's greatest strength and vigour in this one of the channels of public improvement, but their zeal is kept alive by the success of their efforts. I am told that the schools are rising in character from year to year, & that the scholars they turn out now are of much higher order than those of a few years back. The children of the rich & the poor indiscriminately attend them, & are educated gratis. There is no pride upon this subject; the rich man, to be sure, may say that there is nothing gratis for him but the name, since he is taxed in proportion to his property, & married or single, childless or with a numerous family, he must still pay his quota for the good of the rising generation. Wealthy bachelors are thus compelled to educate the offspring of their neighbours, & Mr Sears, with a wife and six children, and an annual income of 90,000 Ds., cannot shrink from contributing his proportion towards the proper training of the twenty one sons and daughters of his neighbour, an honest mechanic, whose yearly gains may not be more than twenty one hundred dollars. I have never, however, heard any thing like a murmur upon the subject of this tax so beneficial in its results.

As the winter wears away I am beginning to look with longing eyes towards the South; and the gloom which now overspreads my beloved family makes me but the more anxious to join them. I shall find the circle diminished by one of its members. . . .* I hope to leave Boston for Monticello before the heats of summer make it unpleasant

* The reference is to the recent death of a much loved older sister, Mrs. Bankhead (see note, *ante*, p. 125). In printing this letter a few lines relating to family affairs in Virginia have been omitted. — Eds.

to travel, but this will depend in a great degree upon the state of M^r Coolidge's business. He may be detained much later. With Virginia's piano (which I hope is by this time near Monticello) there is a book sent by M^r Coolidge to my father, which has a high reputation, & you might perhaps take some pleasure in looking over,—Russell's Tour in Germany. I have found it very interesting, and it is said to be the best book of travels through that country which has been published for a long time.

I know not whether my sisters mentioned to you the wish of M^r John Gray, son of the late Lieutenant Governor Gray, to procure some slips of a cider apple which he understands you have, & consider one of the best in the State. I presume it to be not the Crab, for that is common in other parts of Virginia, but a red apple, which I remember you prized for its cider, and Horace Gray, who visited you some years ago, was the person who spoke of it to his brother in such a way as makes him anxious to obtain & propagate it here. M^r Coolidge wrote to you about a week ago, & desires now to be affectionately remembered to you. With love to all my family circle, I bid you adieu, my dearest grandpapa, in the hope that no new assurance can be necessary of the unbounded veneration & affection of your devoted granddaughter,

ELLEN. W : COOLIDGE.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO ELLEN W. COOLIDGE.*

MONTICELLO, Mar. 19, 26.

MY DEAR ELLEN,—Your letter of the 8th was recieved the day before yesterday, and as the season for engrafting is passing rapidly by I will not detain the apple-cuttings

* This letter is printed from the original in the possession of Archibald Cary Coolidge.
— Eds.

for Mr Gray (until I may have other matter for writing a *big* letter to you), but I send a dozen cuttings, as much as a letter can protect, by our 1st mail, and wish they may retain their vitality until they reach him. They are called the Taliaferro apple, being from a seedling tree discovered by a gentleman of that name near Williamsburg, and yield unquestionably the finest cyder we have ever known, and more like wine than any liquor I have ever tasted which was not wine. If it is worth reminding me of the ensuing winter, I may send a larger supply, and in better time, through Col. Peyton.

Our brandy, fish, tongues, and sounds are here, & highly approved. The piano forte is also in place, and Mrs. Carey *happening* here has exhibited to us it's full powers, which are indeed great. Nobody slept the 1st night, nor is the tumult yet over on this the 3^d day of it's emplacement. These things will draw trouble on you; for we shall no longer be able to drink Raphael's *imitation brandy* at 2 D. the gallon, nor to be without the luxury of the fish, and especially the tongues and sounds, which we consider as a great delicacy.

All here are well, and growing in their love to you, and none so much as the oldest, who embraces in it your other self, so worthy of all our affections, and so entirely identified in them with yourself.

TH: JEFFERSON.

M^{rs} COOLIDGE.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO JOSEPH COOLIDGE, JR.*

MONTICELLO, June 4, 26.

DEAR SIR, — You have heretofore known that the ability of the University to meet the necessary expences of a bell and clock depended on the remission by Con-

* Printed from the original in the possession of Archibald Cary Coolidge. — Eds.

gress of the duties on the marble bases and capitals used in our buildings, a sum of nearly 3000 D. The remission is granted, and I am now authorized to close with Mr. Willard for the undertaking of the clock, as proposed in your letter of Aug. 25. I must still, however, ask your friendly intermediacy, because it will so much abridge the labors of the written correspondence; for there will be many minutiae which your discretion can direct, in which we have full confidence, and shall confirm as if predirected. I have drawn up the material instructions on separate papers, which put into Mr. Willard's hands will, I trust, leave little other trouble for you. We must avail ourselves of his offer (expressed in the same letter) to come himself and set it up, allowing the compensation, which, I am sure, he will make reasonable. The dial-plate had better be made at Boston, as we can prepare our aperture for it, of sixty inches, with entire accuracy. We wish him to proceed with all practicable dispatch, and are ready to make him whatever advance he usually requires; and we would rather make it immediately, as we have a sum of money in Boston which it would be more convenient to place in his hands at once than to draw it here and have to remit it again to Boston. If it would be out of his line to engage for the bell also, be so good as to put it into any hands you please, and to say what we should advance for that also.

The art of boring for water to immense depths we know is practised very much in the salt springs of the Western country, and I have understood that it is habitually practised in the Northern States generally for ordinary water. We have occasion for such an artist at our University, and myself and many individuals roundabout us would gladly employ one. If they abound with you I presume we could get one to come on and engage in the same line here. I believe he would find abundant employment; but should it be otherwise, or not to his mind, we could,

by paying his expences coming and returning, and placing him at home as we found him, save him from any loss by the experiment. Will you be so good as to make enquiry for such a person, to know the terms of his work, and communicate them to me, so that we may form a general idea of the cost of this method of supply. I could then give him immediate information of the probabilities & prospects here. I am anxious myself on behalf of the University, as well as the convenience it will afford to myself.

Our University is going on well. The students have sensibly improved since the last year in habits of order and industry. Occasional instances of insubordination have obliged us from time to time to strengthen our regulations to meet new cases. But the most effectual instrument we have found to be the civil authority. The terrors of indictment, fine, imprisonment, binding to the good behavior, &c., have the most powerful effect. None have yet incurred them, but they have been sternly held up to their view. These civil coercions want a little accomodation to our organization, which we shall probably obtain, and I suppose the more easily as at the age of 16 it is high time for youth to begin to learn and to practise the duties of obedience to the laws of their country. It will make an important item in the Syllabus of the Moral Professor, and be considered as forming a standing branch in the system of education established here. The competition among our hotel keepers has made them too obsequious to the will of the students. We must force them to become auxiliaries towards the preservation of order, rather than subservients to their irregularities. We shall continue under this evil until the renewal of their leases shall place them in our power, which takes place but annually. Our present number are over 170, and growing weekly; and on the opening of the Law School, which is fixed to the 1st of July, the dor-

mitories now vacant will be all filled. These will accommodate 216, and several large houses are building in Charlottesville for private boarding, to meet the demand expected at the next commencement.

Ever and affectionately yours,

TH : JEFFERSON.

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